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Thousands wait in tents for caravan to the West

Tent settlements are springing up in Hungary to provide temporary accommodation for thousands of East Germans in Hungary "on holiday" waiting to get to the West. Austrian railways are preparing to send extra trains to the border to bring out more than 10,000 East Germans. A steady 150-200 a night are going across the Hungarian border into Austria of their own accord. An estimated 6,000 have already got to the West since Hungary began to demolish its border fence in May. The Hungarian Red Cross is looking after 3,000 and has erected another tent settlement with a capacity of 3,000. East Germans came to the camps when they were told that this remained the only legal and guaranteed way they would get to the West. Although there is little doubt that they will be allowed across the border, the precise date might depend on some overall agreement with East Berlin on a policy for refugees. This might take up to six weeks. Reports are circulating that East Berlin, which is maintaining a hardline on the issue, is about to clamp down on travel to Hungary. This story was written by Claus Wettermann for the *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*.

Relief can be only a brief sensation; *and satisfaction is an inadequate response* to Hungary's letting thousands of East German holidaymakers go to the promised West.

Yet the new arrivals merely are an acute symptom; they don't cure the basic complaint that has led to this dramatic exodus from the German Democratic Republic (GDR).

The greatest wave of refugees since the Berlin Wall was built in 1961 casts a bright and unpleasant light on the deep-seated domestic crisis in that country.

The way East Germans are voting with their feet and seeking refuge in Bonn's diplomatic missions in East Bloc countries, in refugee camps in Budapest and along the Austro-Hungarian border, is a shameful reflection on the East Berlin government.

The crisis gets worse the more the regime resists the growing determination among its citizens to follow the example of systematic change set in other Eastern European countries.

An estimated several hundred thousand GDR Germans want, with varying degrees of firmness, to turn their backs on a state they feel has grown unbearable.

By the year's end the number of new arrivals from the GDR, both refugees and holders of valid exit permits, will have equalled the population of a city, reaching six figures.

The GDR will have mainly lost highly qualified industrial and service trades labour, especially from the younger generation, which is a serious economic drain.



Those political dissidents the regime has allowed to leave are a potential for reconstruction, a reconstruction the GDR will have to undertake sooner or later.

The desire to go West, which is evidently still growing, is people's answer to the quality of life in the GDR, of which the keynotes include a refusal to grant civil rights such as freedom of opinion and movement, government tutelage and repression and a steadily deteriorating economy.

Disappointment and resignation among people who have grown more self-assured and more demanding in view of reforms in neighbouring East Bloc countries, are also fuelled by hopeless prospects on two counts.

For one, their leaders, who a few years ago pursued a policy of cautious opening at home and abroad, are ideologically inflexible and strictly refuse even to consider democratisation along glasnost and perestroika lines.

They are evidently incapable of change, which is long overdue.

For another, the image of freedom and economic progress in the Federal Republic, almost utopian from an East German viewpoint but constantly rubbed in by the Western media, is seen *as increasingly attractive*.

East Berlin hoped in vain to take the head off the steam by allowing more people to visit the West. It refuses to appreciate that domestic hardship is a token of the failure of its brand of socialism.

Stubbornly insisting that their policy is right, the ageing Party leaders, whose weakness is symbolised by party leader Erich Honecker's politically paralysing illness, are caught without a concept on how to cope with the crisis.

What should Bonn do? A reappraisal of the line to be taken toward the GDR is needed, but Bonn must continue to abide by the axiom that any destabilisation of *the other German state must be avoided.*

Yet that cannot mean not taking the inflexible GDR regime to task for failing to reform. But Bonn will need to bear in mind the GDR's special situation on the borderline between East and West and as a fellow-German state with special ties and tense relations with the Federal Republic. These features make it more difficult for the GDR to rectify its system along Hungarian or Polish lines or to draw closer to the West German social system. They *do so even though*, in the final analysis, nothing but a step in this direction will bring about tolerable living conditions and call the exodus to a halt. The logic of East German ideology sounds a bitter note, but it makes sense in its way.

Continued on page 2

Chancellor Kohl addressing the Bundestag in a speech to mark the outbreak of WWII. See pages 4,5. (Photo: dpa)

Bundestag marks 50 years since outbreak of war

***All parties in the Bonn Bundestag have* endorsed reconciliation with Poland and the 1970 treaty by which Bonn and Warsaw waived territorial claims against each other. They did so on the 50th anniversary of the German invasion of Poland that began the Second World War.**

There is a nexus between Germany's war guilt and reconciliation with Poland, the first victim of Hitler's Second World War.

Reconciliation with Poland is just as important as reconciliation with Israel and, at a different level, as reconciliation with France was. The Germans owe a debt of *guilt that far exceeds mere considerations* of immediate political interest.

The basis of reconciliation with Poland is the December 1970 Warsaw Treaty negotiated by the Bonn government headed by SPD Chancellor Willy Brandt and FDP Foreign Minister Walter Scheel.

Chancellor Kohl is now committed to the letter and spirit of the Warsaw Treaty on behalf of the present Bonn government, as are his Christian Democrats, who opposed it at the time. This change of mind is important for what now happens, including with Deutschlandpolitik and Ostpolitik.

The fundamental agreement between the two leading parties, the Christian and Social Democrats, cannot be challenged *by conjuring up differences of opinion on* whether the Oder-Neisse frontier is final. It was inappropriate even to try and specify such differences in written statements.

To do so is as superfluous as the entire border debate. The frontier between Germany and Poland is dealt with in the Warsaw Treaty. So commitment to the treaty is all that is needed.

Reconciliation today must concentrate on entirely different points. The policy of domestic reform in Poland must be promoted economically and financially.

The Federal government and all parties in the Bundestag have repeatedly affirmed their readiness to do so. Projects to be given specific support must be detailed in the talks that are shortly to be held at government level. Incentives must be provided for industry and investors to co-operate. Safeguarding the reform movement's survival is the issue at stake. The German desire for reconciliation ought not to be called into question.

Nothing is to be gained by one party enumerating how much it hopes to outdo the other. Reconciliation will need many helpers in both countries. The most important immediate task must be success in the proposed government talks.

Achim Melchers
(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, Essen, 2 September 1989)

IN THIS ISSUE

■ INTERNATIONAL

Paris takes the initiative in the Lebanon

Paris has taken the initiative. As the former mandate power in Syria and the Lebanon, with political ties in the region dating back to the Middle Ages and the Crusades, France has shown keener interest than other Western powers in the fate of the Lebanese, wracked by civil war for nearly 15 years, and especially in that of Lebanese Christians.

That is partly due, over and above historical ties, to about 100,000 Lebanese having made France their second home. They include many Lebanese of Armenian extraction, and Maronite Christians too.

Other Western countries are nowhere near as strongly committed to supporting Christian communities in the Near and Middle East.

These communities are frequently said to be largely themselves to blame for their situation, having been no less brutal and arrogant than their adversaries in the past in their treatment of people holding views that differed from their own.

This line of argument disregards the precarious status of a Christian minority in an Islamic environment that has been infected by the virus of fundamentalist zealotry.

The French Foreign Minister, Roland Dumas, has proposed a three-point plan for which a French intermediary is canvassing support in Damascus.

The French plan gets to the roots of the conflict and outlines the main prerequisites for an end to the hostilities that have wrought havoc in what used to be such a wealthy country.

Unless these points are fulfilled, a solution in Lebanon seems unlikely. Yet their fulfilment at the moment virtually defies the imagination.

First, arms shipments are to be suspended. This demand can only be welcomed by everyone who is aware of the extent to which Lebanon has been armed to the teeth during the civil war.

There is the Lebanese army, which has relatively little power. There are the innumerable militias and task forces of the various religious and political communities that are competing for predominance.

They include the Maronite Christians, the Druzes, Sunni Muslims and radical and "moderate" Shi'ites. And that isn't to mention the various Palestinian groups.

Over 50 Lebanese militias as varied in ideological provenance as they are in size make the country unsafe.

The Syrians are well-armed too, with 40,000 men officially stationed in Lebanon as a police force but in reality an occupying power.

In southern Lebanon Israeli armed forces and their allies, the South Lebanese Army, control a "security zone."

Terrorist groups make no secret about which Middle Eastern state supplies them with arms or explosives.

This enormous arsenal of soldiers, militiamen, arms and equipment, including heavy artillery, is to be found in a country only half the size of Hesse; Bavaria, for instance, is seven times the size of Lebanon.

Any reduction in arms stockpiled and in use in the Lebanon would be a blessing, but how is it to be brought about? In other conflicts of comparable volatility the call for a halt to arms supplies has been a pious hope.

Who is to stop arms and explosives from finding their way, by mysterious channels and indirect routes, into a country that no longer has a functioning central authority? And how are they to go about it?

The leading religious and political groups govern and administer themselves, have their own seaports and airports and excellent links to their foreign backers, who are anything but miserly in their support, especially where arms are concerned.

Who, for instance, is to stop the shipment of supplies across the Bekaa plateau in eastern Lebanon, where Islamic revolution is being put through its paces, under Syrian and Iranian influence?

There is little to suggest that an international force might be able to keep the arms trade or arms smuggling in check. Unifil, the blue-helmeted UN peace-keeping force, has been stationed in Lebanon for years to very little avail.

The second point of the French plan, the call for a withdrawal of all foreign troops, is equally ambivalent.

It is something all Lebanese who aren't fanatical in the pursuit of what they see as their interests (and thus need foreign support), in other words the overwhelming majority, would welcome wholeheartedly.

A sensible negotiated settlement is only conceivable in such a small country once it is rid of the well-nigh lethal pressure exerted by Israeli or Syrian occupiers.

The Lebanese exaggerate at times in arguing that foreign intervention, and it alone, is to blame for their dire straits. It was their internal fighting that prompted foreign powers to intervene.

Until such time as the situation in the Middle East undergoes a fundamental change it will be hard to imagine either the Israelis or the Syrians pulling out of the Lebanon.

Israel lays claim to a security-zone in the south to prevent Palestinian or Shi'ite terrorists from slipping over the border.

There is unlikely to be any immediate change in this state of affairs. Much the same can be said of the Syrians, who were originally called in to police the Lebanon and have long been an occupying power.

Only their keenest supporters, Walid Djumblatt's Druzes, the militant Shi'ites and Franjieh's Maronites, take a different view.

Syria has never really accepted an independent Lebanon, and if it cannot annex it, it would certainly like to be the arbiter of what goes on there. This is unlikely to change as long as President Assad rules in Damascus.

As for the third point, domestic realignment, the outlook is grim, although many parties to the civil war have from time to time proposed a realignment of the obsolete system by which religious groups shared power.

They have, for instance, included the Maronites, who want to retain as much of their former influence as possible.

The moderate Shi'ites want a larger share of power, while many Lebanese — members of all religious and political groups — would like to see the power-sharing system scrapped and replaced by a secular arrangement.

The advocates of revolutionary Islamic ideas are the most serious handicap; they want to transform the Lebanon into an Iranian-style state.

But the Christians are not going to put up with that. Nor are many Muslims.

Yet as long as the Islamic Republic of Iran exists and supports the "propaganda by deed" of militants partly backed by Syrian allies, there are unlikely to be comprehensive reforms on a secular basis in the Lebanon.

Wolfgang Günter Lerch
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 30 August 1989)

Cambodia: the arena moves back to the killing fields

Handelsblatt
WIRTSCHAFTS- UND FINANZZEITUNG

The outcome of the Paris conference on Cambodia was a foregone conclusion. The talks broke down, failing abysmally to reach the agreement on peace terms for a hard-hit country for which optimists had hoped.

Failure to understand the other side's position and inability to consider a compromise ran like the proverbial clue of thread through all sessions of the working parties.

On basic issues the parties to the conflict moved not one iota toward each other.

If anything, matters are worse. After four weeks of marathon negotiations the positions are as irreconcilable and more inflexible than ever.

The Paris conference, like so many rounds of Cambodia talks, came to grief on the composition of a transitional government to run the country until free elections are held.

Hun Sen, the Vietnamese-backed Phnom Penh Premier, now categorically rules out participation by the Khmer Rouge, the gravediggers of Kampuchea.

Prince Sihanouk, leader of the resistance coalition, feels a fresh start stands no chance without them. The Khmer Rouge themselves stalled any agreement on fundamentals by means of procedural crossfire.

Agreement has still not been reached on a UN role in monitoring the Vietnamese troop withdrawal and in the organisation and surveillance of a ceasefire.

It was clear before the final session that yet another opportunity of agreeing on peace terms had been missed.

The conference was an evident failure the moment Washington, Peking and Moscow indicated they were sending only Deputy Foreign Ministers to Paris.

"It is too early for a compromise," said a resigned M. Dumas. That can only mean that the balance of power between the hostile parties in Cambodia will now be decided not at the green (conference) table but in the green hell of the Indo-Chinese jungle.

Cambodia is irresistibly slithering into a civil war that seems sure to break out once Vietnamese occupying forces are withdrawn in early September.

The great powers, whose showing at the Paris conference was as abysmal as that of the Cambodians themselves, are largely to blame. They have failed to learn their lesson from Afghanistan and wasted valuable time.

Instead of taking an active part in drafting the "global model" they themselves advocate, the Americans, the Russians and the Chinese have left Cambodian politicians largely to their own devices.

The Cambodians can now fail to reach agreement on the details. Blaming everyone else for the failure is eloquent testimony to diplomatic helplessness.

The pro-Vietnamese Phnom Penh government may have taken an inflexible line, but it was not the only reason why a compromise formula was not agreed despite initial readiness to arrive at a consensus.

Prince Sihanouk was inflexible too, and whether his of all strategies is likely to guarantee a lasting peace is more than doubtful.

The Khmer Rouge he would like to see share power have not yet abandoned their Stone Age communism by any stretch of the imagination.

They also have the most hard-hitting guerrilla forces in the resistance movement. So it would be merely a matter of time before terror was resumed.

In the present stalemate Premier Hun Sen senses an opportunity of continuing to govern even without international recognition.

He has gained in standing while in power and made a name for himself as an advocate of a non-aligned Cambodia. What remains to be seen is whether he can survive politically without Vietnamese military backing.

Hun Sen's power play runs risks no less serious than Sihanouk's strategy. Both are wide open to accusations of being to blame, by virtue of their inability to compromise at the conference table, for irrevocably driving Cambodia ever deeper into a permanent state of crisis.

Unredeeming though it may sound, the Paris conference benefited no-one but the Khmer Rouge. Their destructive tactics prevailed.

Christoph Rabe
(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 31 August 1989)

Continued from page 1

Approximation to the social system in the Federal Republic is ruled out because it would, purely and simply, deprive the GDR of any justification for its existence.

Bonn is taking good care not to shake the other Germany's foundations as a separate state.

It must accordingly resist the temptation to raise the German Question, especially any claim to reunification, as an issue for an offensive. That would merely make East Berlin even more inflexible.

Economic aid from Bonn on any scale could only be justified if East Berlin were to guarantee structural reforms, both social and economic, from which people in the GDR would derive direct benefit.

The Federal government must concentrate on intensifying practical co-operation, as help toward self-help, and on astute influence and incentives to promote an atmosphere of intellectual and material well-being, making life more worth living in the GDR.

There is a widespread feeling among people in the Federal Republic that these newcomers are enjoying unfair advantages in limited labour and housing markets.

This is social dynamite that must be defused promptly and spiritedly.

Claus Wettermann
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 2 September 1989)

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Kohl opponents fail to mount challenge

Chancellor Helmut Kohl has emerged as victor following his dismissal of the CDU business manager, Heiner Geissler.

No-one has had the pluck to mount a revolt by running as a rival candidate for the party chairmanship (held by Kohl) at the party congress this month.

So the rebellion which seemed a distinct possibility has failed to materialise. The factionists have lost their courage.

Kohl, a tremendously power-conscious politician, has again demonstrated how cold-bloodedly calculating he can be.

This ensures his survival as Chancellor and as party leader. But at what price? His most harsh critics now find themselves out on a limb.

Baden-Württemberg Premier Lothar Späth, the man believed most capable of unseating Kohl, has beat a retreat halfway, probably because of a lack of flank support.

Lower Saxony Premier Ernst Albrecht is finding it difficult enough to retain his government majority.

Bonn Labour Minister Norbert Blüm is involved in a state election campaign in North Rhine-Westphalia and would stand no chance of winning with a divided CDU.

Bundestag Speaker Rita Süssmuth did not want to be the only anti-Kohl campaigner at Späth's side.

Geissler himself would probably have managed to bring his troops into position. The question is: would they have launched an attack?

A great deal is conjecture, including the question whether Helmut Kohl knew all this would happen because of his conviction that there is no alternative.

The criticism levelled against him by the party presidium and executive, however, is food for thought for the Chancellor.

Kohl was chastised for plunging the party into a crisis of identity, a clear reference to the autocratic way the party chairman deals with the party's leading bodies. Leading CDU members have been putting up with this for some time.

The disturbing aspect of Kohl's misdemeanour is the sudden awareness of a vacuum: what does Helmut Kohl really stand for?

In Geissler's case it was a lot easier. His views were more tangible and, more important still, backed by most CDU members.

This created an clear identity, for which other could either declare their support or critical dissociation.

The party will now start worrying whether it is labouring under a misapprehension, the mistaken belief that the power structure in the CDU is solely determined by the aspect of power and its retention rather than by political content.

This is not even defamatory. After all, majorities have to be won by those who wish to exercise power.

Such majorities, however, should not be defined on the basis of the power question alone.

It is here we discover the real reason for the shock in the CDU and the seed of a possible defeat for Helmut Kohl.

Kohl told the party executive that he is nothing without the party. The CDU, however, also remains a Christian Democratic party without Kohl. This was something many CDU members had forgotten over the years, a realisation which has now dawned on the party's rank and file.

This does not been that Kohl's days in the CDU are already numbered. Nothing is more successful than success. This is Kohl's most important asset. Unfortunately, it looks as if it might be his only one. He must win the general election next year with a result which allows him to stay in government with the present coalition.

Kohl alone will be held responsible for anything less than this. It is this aspect which may have persuaded the party rebels to keep a low profile.

A rival candidate to Kohl would have given him the opportunity to blame election defeats on the internal division of the conservative union. This excuse no longer exists.

Kohl, however, is not the type to pass the buck to scapegoats.

Despite all the turbulence at grass roots level, many CDU members have noticed signs of uprising which then recede. Do these potential rebels represent a reliable alternative at the helm of the party?

The well-being of the party need not necessarily be the central aspect of any struggle for power.

In the end those politicians will emerge unscathed who have helped the party pull through the crisis in critical (not servile) loyalty.

This distracts attention away from Lothar Späth and towards Walter Wallmann.

Walter Bajohr
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 1 September 1989)

Edges of the old ideologies begin to turn fuzzy

Ideology has long since ceased to be a vote-winning asset for political parties.

Most ideologies are either already in their last throes or are in such need of repair that they can at most satisfy nostalgic desires.

This is not an exclusive reference to ideologies of the more orthodox type, characterised by a dogma of infallibility. Most of these have come to a pitiful end.

Even the less rigid ideologies advocated in western democracies show such signs of wear and tear that their stumbling prophets have been forced to seek salvation in unconventional new ideas.

They can no longer base their political activities solely on the preconceived notion that the traditional position of their party is fixed for all time.

This is revealed impressively in the Federal Republic of Germany, where all established political parties have introduced aspects to their respective identities which do not always harmonise with traditional ideologies.

This is a strenuous process of reorientation, since it obviously means dropping traditional concepts.

The Social Democrats have been the most single-minded in pursuit of this objective. They find it extremely difficult comprehensibly to define their party-political *raison d'etre:* "socialism as a permanent task."

Shaping political activities is always a permanent task. There is no need for a special programme to reinforce this truism. Furthermore, social justice and social progress are not merely conceptual shells, but are highly significant.

They must, however, be fused with a social policy which can apply at least during the 1990s.

Even party left-wingers warn against chasing the "supposed ideal of the classical workers' party."

These critics are trying to open the party to the technical intelligentsia and the labour force in the services sector.

Are the future cornerstones of the SPD electronics plus an environmentally orientated market economy?

The SPD would run into some awkward problems if it ignores the trade unions.

The CDU and CSU are confronted by similar difficulties.

The modernisation of society they demand and the permanent character of its fundamental convictions are automatically turning into an insoluble contradiction.

The pace of technological progress is creating a new social reality, and this clashes with traditional role concepts, stereotypes and a guiding family model

Continued on page 14

Correction

The reference to "Warsaw Pact" on page 3 last week (The new man arrives back at the political centre) should have read "Warsaw Treaty." We apologise.

Republicans a party in need of vision

With oratory betraying the actor he once was, the leader of the (extreme-right) Republicans, Franz Schönhuber, prayed to heaven that Heiner Geissler would remain business manager of the CDU.

The theatrical remarks were based on his conviction that, of all CDU politicians, Geissler is the most likely to antagonise traditional conservative voters (because of his centrist tendencies).

It now looks as if Schönhuber has lost the rival he sarcastically described as an excellent election assistant.

The national spokesman of the Republicans, Neumann, used the same term in the publication of a kind of obituary for the "politically dead man."

The Republicans hope that Geissler's dismissal will not lead to a substantial change of course by the conservative union.

The organisation set up in 1983 recruits most of its support from the disappointed supporters of other parties.

Without such widespread dissatisfaction the Republicans would have been little more than also rans.

Republican supporters can be heard moaning and groaning — and very little else. They rarely seem fascinated by any ideal.

There is no vision and no real ideology, even though Schönhuber's journalistic talent would undoubtedly help him find the right words. The Republicans have not yet elaborated a proper conception of the world.

This is just one of the big differences between the Republicans and the Greens. Despite all the hate and aggressiveness the Greens present the dream of idyllic nature and humanity living in harmony.

Schönhuber may well have realised that he must also in the long run come up with something which is both typical and positive. With the support of the historian Diwald he is currently trying to piece together an acceptable party manifesto.

The cynic in Schönhuber has quite rightly told Diwald that the public at large has never shown a great interest in reading party manifestoes.

The Republican supporters have not missed well-written publications on all political issues.

Schönhuber still relies on concise and pithy demands: the Swiss rotation principle for migrant workers, the election of the Federal President by the people or a maximum period of eight years in office for members of parliament.

The Republican leader, however, would like to give the party a more distinct image. The second weak point is the fixation on one person.

For months Schönhuber acted as if numerous well-known political figures were about to desert to the Republicans.

In reality, he can count himself lucky if a CSU city councillor from Landshut becomes a "turncoat."

He repeatedly mentions the name of the three-star general Uhle-Wettler, who is the security policy adviser of the Republicans without being a member.

The toing-and-froing over the candidature for the election of the mayor of Munich was typical.

In the end the person pulled out of the hat was not a well-known personality who could have obtained greater sympathy for the Republicans, but his wife Ingrid Schönhuber, once an SPD city councillor.

This gives the impression in Munich that the party is a family business.

The population usually refers to "the Greens" rather than to one of its leading figures, whereas they refer to Schönhuber rather than to the Republicans as a party.

There is another difference to the Greens. Schönhuber cannot complain about a lack of new members, but he has cause for concern about a lack of campaigners with a clear-cut political image.

His only confidant would appear to be the chairman of the Bavarian section of the Republicans and the party's spokesman in Bavaria, Neubauer, who was even forgiven for being an active member of the NPD.

Usually, Schönhuber reacts more sensitively when it comes to NPD members because of his survival instinct, refusing to let them become Republican members at all.

The question is whether Schönhuber is really all that keen on having more prominent personalities in his ranks.

The history of his party began with the alliance of three men, who presented themselves in public as a "troika."

The CSU Bundestag members Voigt and Handlos, embittered by the huge loan to the GDR "set up" by Franz Josef Strauss, were regarded at the time as experienced parliamentarians, whereas Schönhuber ranked as no more than a better writer of speeches.

It was the latter, however, who took over control and has dominated the party ever since.

It is still up to the CDU, CSU and SPD to make sure that the votes for the Republicans are no more than a reflection of temporary infedility rather than a complete breach of loyalty.

Roswin Finkenzeller
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 25 August 1989)

■ 50 YEARS SINCE WWII BEGAN

Barbarity and insanity on an unparalleled scale



They died for the Fatherland is a lie cast in bronze and carved in stone on war memorials all over Germany.

The living have long known that those who died — between Kharkov and Cherbourg, between Tromsö and Tobruk, deluded or swept along or taken unfair advantage of — didn't die for the Fatherland.

They died for the criminal insanity of a man who for twenty years had wanted nothing more than war, a war of his own.

Fifty years ago, on 1 September 1939, he achieved his ambition. Adolf Hitler started the Second World War.

It wasn't a "normal" war over a patch of land, limited dynastic interests, insulted princely vanity or a desperate uprising by oppressed peoples.

It wasn't a war to end the grievous and unfair provisions of the Treaty of Versailles either. Hitler had always used the policy of revising the terms negotiated at Versailles as a cover for his own aims, which went much further.

It can't even be accurately pigeonholed as a war of conquest. Hitler's war was not aimed merely at establishing German hegemony in Europe.

It was a war of race and extermination of everyone who, by the terms of his mad Aryan master-race philosophy, was inferior.

Hitler's war lasted five years and eight months. It was the first total war in history. As the years passed it grew steadily less easy to distinguish between the war front and the home front, between soldiers and civilians.

It was the first world war that really deserved the name, with hostilities spanning the entire world. Hitler attacked Poland, the Western powers, Holland and Belgium, Denmark and Norway, the Balkans and, finally, the Soviet Union.

War in the Pacific, waged by Japan and China since 1931, merged with the war in Europe to a single maelstrom when the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbour in December 1941 and the German Reich then declared war on America too.

The outcome was appalling: 55 million war dead all over the world, including seven million Germans. Cities, countries and entire economies destroyed and laid waste.

Frontiers realigned, people uprooted, expelled, deported, refugees by the million. Millions of prisoners-of-war in PoW camps, their health often ruined if they were lucky enough to survive.

Last and most appalling in its barbarity, six million Jews bestially murdered by Germans.

Schiller, the late 18th-century German classic, has a character in one of his plays ask:

"Are Germans, now emerging ingloriously from a tearful war, with the victors deciding their fate, entitled to feel emotions?

"Are they entitled to feel proud and pleased at being Germans? Are they entitled to hold their heads high and self-assuredly take their place among the ranks of nations?"

These are questions that must have died on the lips of his descendants a century and a half later.

In 1797 Schiller was convinced they were entitled to do so. In 1945 we weren't, and we couldn't after all the dreadful things for which we were to blame.

The victorious Allies had their moving finger write *finis Germaniae* in the skies over Germany, and who could blame them? Hitler had dreamed of a Greater Germany but left behind a Germany in ruins as the result of his infamous activity.

German world hegemony — his ambition — was replaced by a dual hegemony, that of America and Russia, soon to be followed by bloc rivalry.

A quarter of the surface area of the German Reich was awarded to others, the remainder shared between — and put in charge of — the Four Powers.

The borderline between the hostile systems ran right through Germany, arguably the outcome of Hitler having thrown the door to Central Europe open to the Soviet Union in 1939 and drawn the United States into the Old World's war in 1941.

Two German states took shape, avoiding each other like the plague, building the Wall and barbed wire emplacements along the demarcation line.

When the Cold War began they were both promoted to the status of "guest victors" and regained a limited degree of sovereignty in what Sebastian Haffner called a "state of dependent alliance."

It remains limited and dependent to this day, with both German states kept on the rein of occupation law and Allied rights and reservations in respect of "Germany as a whole."

Will Germany as a whole ever exist again? That is anyone's guess.

But Ernst Moritz Arndt's patriotic slogan *Das ganze Deutschland soll es sein!* (It must be *all* Germany!), the territorial claims of *Deutschland über alles* ("From the Meuse to the Memel, from the Adige to the Belt") and even the claim to Germany within its 1937 frontiers are dynamite in an era when the nations of Eastern Europe are gradually parting company with Soviet-style Communism.


War. September 1 1939. German troops move barrier at the Polish frontier.
(Photo: Ullstein)

Whatever they do the Germans must take care, at a time when Eastern Europe is striving to regain its domestic and external freedom, not to distract attention from this once-in-a-lifetime process of emancipation or to impede it by raising the question of German national unity at an inappropriate moment.

The future will not, whatever happens, be a repetition of the past. It can be sure to come up with entirely new models for Europe and Germany.

For years it looked as though both Germany and Europe were at the end of their tether, weakened and bled to death as they were after the war against Hitler, rid of their world status once and for all: *finis Europae*.

Britain forfeited its empire, France, Holland, Belgium and Portugal their colonies. It was, as a process, historically inevitable, but Hitler unintentionally stepped up the pace of decolonisation.

The Continent forfeited its natural unity in 1947/48 when Stalin lowered the Iron Curtain from Travemünde to Trieste.

Only now the rusty barbed wire is being dismantled here and there can Europeans once more think in truly continental terms, and they won't regain international political importance until the European Community has developed into a Political Union.

Would Stalin have been more than a petty Asian despot if Hitler had not paved his way to the west by means of the infamous August 1939 pact and the no less infamous German invasion of Russia two years later?

The question must at least be permitted. The oppressed Soviet peoples might arguably have sent Stalin packing if he hadn't been able to base his dictatorship on wartime patriotism.

The Cold War would certainly have been most unlikely if Hitler had not invaded Russia.

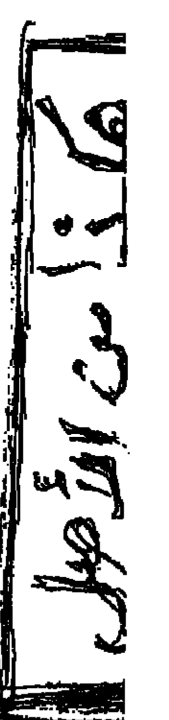
In this connection Hitler, with his crazy political notions, achieved the exact opposite of what he set out to accomplish.

The same applies to his anti-Semitism, so exaggerated that he attempted to exterminate the Jews physically.

Had it not been for Hitler there would have been no Auschwitz but, as Nahum Goldmann used to argue, without Hitler there would probably have been no Jewish state of Israel either.

The same goes for Hitler's megalomanic extension of the war to the United States, which answered his declaration of war with the largest-ever campaigns in which superior equipment

Continued on page 7



■ 50 YEARS SINCE WWII BEGAN

Access to secret Soviet archives needed, historians' meeting told



The hundred or so international historians Bundestag Speaker Rita Süssmuth welcomed in the Berlin Reichstag building represented an academic *crème de la crème*.

The historians from Western and Eastern European countries, the USA, Israel and Japan came to Berlin to discuss "The Unleashing of the Second World War and the International System."

The organisers, Berlin's Historische Kommission and the Munich-based Institut für Zeitgeschichte, can congratulate themselves on opening new horizons in a field which is riddled with *clichés*.

The four conference sessions helped clarify a number of the still vague aspects of the politics of the decision-makers on the eve of the German invasion of Poland, the objectives of the Great Powers, and the hopes and aberrations of the smaller states, in particular those in the central Eastern European belt.

In his opening address historian Klaus Hildebrand from Bonn explained that the new insights have been made possible by an extension of available archival and documentary material.

He added, however, that this reference basis must be extended even further, especially with an eye to the still inaccessible Soviet archives.

Without wanting to distract attention from the immorality of Hitler as an individual Hildebrand insisted that the main aim should not be to clarify *who* began the war, but to discover more about *how* it came about and *what* a struggle loomed at that time.

The intensive study of the history of the international system during the era between the two world wars has revealed that peace during the Thirties was replaced by a "situation between two wars."

An alloy of "war in peace and peace in war" on a global scale, from East Asia to Central Europe, characterised the specific indistinctiveness of the epoch between 1919 and 1939.

The greater the lack of confidence in the state of peace the greater the sense of certainty about a future war.

Such considerations should not and do not set out to push the historically undisputed fact into the background that it was Hitler's policies and the National Socialist regime which represented the decisive reason for the war which began in 1939.

The conference chairman, Swiss historian Walther Hofer, emphasised that the second world war as an historical phenomenon is inconceivable without this fact.

Hofer first used the term "unleashing" (*Entfesselung*) to describe the outbreak of the second world war in a book published 35 years ago.

Eberhard Jäckel, the leading German Hitler researcher, took up Hofer's line of argument.

As opposed to all the other leading figures at that time Jäckel is convinced that Hitler was unreservedly in favour of war.

The Nazi dictator was not the "steamed up" locomotive of war which was first given the "green light" by the pact with the Communist dictator Stalin.

On 23 May, 1939, Hitler told his generals what he intended doing if he was unable to isolate the German-Polish conflict and if a conflict with the European western powers became inevitable:

"I would attack Britain with a series of crushing blows."

Referring to the mood of the Germans themselves in the summer of 1939 Marlis G. Steinert (Geneva) said:

"As opposed to Hitler, who presented war as an experience which is necessary and desirable for every generation, a large part of the German population feared war and hoped to achieve their dreams of being a major power by peaceful means."

The only exception were the convinced Nazis, the "heroic minority" with whose help Hitler hoped to push through his plans, sections of the indoctrinated youth who had no idea whatsoever about the reality of war, and representatives of military and industrial groups.

Opponents of the Nazi regime, however, also believed that a military conflict was the only means of eliminating totalitarian rule.

Jäckel claimed that Hitler had unleashed the war with just a few confidants and that its character as a "racial war of extermination" does not allow any comparison with the first world war.

This view was supported by the American historians Norman Rich and Gerhard Weinberg.

The *Führer* was most annoyed about the peaceful outcome of the Sudeten crisis in autumn 1938, since he would have already liked to have marched into Prague then.

As the discussion dealt with the period between 1914 and 1945 interest was also shown in the fluctuating interpretations of concepts such as "revisionism", "pacifism", "collective security", "appeasement" and "grand alliance."

The Japanese historian Masaki Miyake expressed the view that Japan, a co-victor of the first world war which was given a "raw deal", was more opposed — as a "revisionist" power — to the "Washington system" rather than to the "Versailles system" which determined developments in Europe.

Miyake took the "Washington system" to mean the agreement of naval power according to the desires of the USA and the forced acceptance of the USA's policy towards China.

The Italian Ennio di Nolfo illustrated the Italian situation, yet another downgraded co-victor, in the alternative between conforming to France and the revisionist "new departures" under Mussolini, whom he basically regards as one of Hitler's larger satellites.

The most strikingly differentiated comments during the conference related to Neville Chamberlain's "appeasement" and Daladier's course in France.

Rarely has there been such a detailed description of the Third Republic as the one presented by Elisabeth du Réau.

The British considerations, wedged between a no longer possible maintenance of peace, alliance obligations and consideration of the Commonwealth, was interpreted by Anthony Adamthwaite, an expert on Anglo-French cooperation and the controversies of the late Thirties.

After Prague Neville Chamberlain would not have been forgiven by public opinion for a new "Munich."

As Bernd-Jürgen Wendt (Hamburg) pointed out the Prime Minister was faced by a "shambles."

During the conference most attention was given to the firm rejection of the Hitler-Stalin pact including the supplementary protocol by the conferees from the Soviet Union.

Both the official representatives of the Soviet historian community, Alexander Kubaryan and Vyacheslav Dachichev, as well as the Polish scientists concentrating on their own national aspects, such as Marian Wojciechowski and Wlodzimierz Borodziej, condemned Stalin's foreign policy without reservation.

Professor Dachichev, for example, announced:

"The 18th Party Congress, which was held in March 1939, initiated a renunciation of the policy of collective security, moving away from the search for an alliance with France, Britain and the other European states to contain Hitler's aggression."

This stance was reflected in Stalin's speech during the party congress.

Instead of seeking cooperation with France and Britain Stalin made it clear in no uncertain terms that he wanted to come to an arrangement with Hitler.

"This was how Hitler was given the possibility to unleash the war under such favourable circumstances," said Dachichev.

Inadequate

In the opinion of the Polish historian Wojciechowski the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact was a factor which accelerated the "dynamics" of Hitler's empire.

He described the Anglo-Polish alliance, on the other hand, as an inadequate attempt to stop this development.

Understandably, the Czech historian Yaroslav Valenta felt that the war already began in autumn 1938.

Karl-Dietrich Bracher (Bonn) tried to sum up the findings of the conference.

What he said is not popular despite the evidence: the once determinant role of Europe has been relativised since the first world war.

At the end of the second world war the reduction in Europe's significance ends in division and in dependence on two superpowers.

However, for the first time in European history common views began to develop on the value of free democracies and the mutuality of European interests.

The experience with dictatorships and war paved the way for a democratic European policy which differed entirely from the conceivable possibilities following the first world war.

Gerd Ressing
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 25 August 1989)

■ THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

Growing ranks of Brussels lobbyists make sure the pressure stays on

Luxembourg and Strasbourg are not overjoyed that Brussels is attracting the German *Länder*, industrial lobbyists and worker organisations like moths to candlelight.

Not only people willing to build and people wanting to rent accommodation in Brussels have had to realise in the past few years that their community of interests in the self-proclaimed capital of Europe has been getting ever greater.

The proximity to the European Community Commission, the EC Executive, which also has the right to initiate legislation, is attractive.

The decision-making organisation, the Council of Ministers, holds its meetings during eight months of the year in the Charlemagne Building.

Only during April, June and October do the delegations from the 12, the Commission representatives and the host of journalists accredited to the EC, move to Luxembourg.

The permanent representatives of the member-states and ambassadors from all over the world are also located in Brussels as is Nato in Evere, a Brussels suburb.

The European Parliament would like to move from Strasbourg to Brussels for its sessions, where usually the meetings of its committees take place.

It is not surprising then that property prices in Brussels are increasing and have almost doubled since 1986.

Apart from the official EC organisations there are a few thousand of lobbyists who, commissioned by companies, parties or associations, seek admission, which is all too often gladly granted them.

Demonstrations in front of the gateways to the Charlemagne and Berlaymont Buildings (the home of the Commission) are getting rarer all the time. The presence of lobbyists in the buildings is much more effective.

Often decisions are influenced from the start within the circle of the permanent representatives, who prepare the Council meetings for decision-making.

About 4,000 pressure groups are listed in the Brussels telephone book. There is the umbrella organisation for the farmers associations, COPA, which has been represented in Brussels from the beginning in 1958.

Other well-known organisations are UNICE, the top organisations for European employers and the European Trades Union Confederation.

Naturally the steel industry (Eurofer), the car industry (CCMC and CLCA), textiles and clothing (Comitextil and AEIH) and chemicals (CEFIC) have been represented in Brussels for a long time.

Many of the lobbyists have better access to the 13,000 Eurocrats than the more than 400 journalists, often envied, accredited to the EC Commission.

Many of these journalists prefer to get their information about EC intentions from these lobbyists.

It is not easy to say whether the influence of the pressure groups is greater on EC draft legislation than for instance in the more shady circles in Bonn.

Access is not made difficult for them and many a piece of EC legislation bears the hallmarks of certain interested sectors before it is published officially, in the EC Gazette.

The pressure groups are not the only



ones to concern themselves with their very own interests. Europe's regions have equally discovered some time ago that they can get access to Community development funds if they have someone representing their interests on the spot.

All eleven West German *Länder* are present in Brussels. Hamburg started this off in 1985 with the opening of an office in Brussels.

The Eurocrats get a particularly tough grilling from the Bavarians. The Bavarian office is manned by seven, making sure that the state is taken notice of in the EC.

Government representatives from other member-states complain that not only the Bonn government has a place at the ministerial table, but also the representatives of the *Länder*, who had a massive influence in forming the controversial European television guide-lines.

These *Länder* feared a sell-out of their cultural sovereignty, enshrined in Basic Law (Constitution), through the Brussels' back-door.

Before the Single European Act came into force the majority in the Bundesrat (Upper House) pushed through their right of participation against the Foreign Ministry in December 1986, very much to the distress of Bonn diplomats.

The involvement of the *Länder* in the formulation of Federal Republic European policies is anchored in law. The Bundesrat must be informed by the Bonn government at the earliest possible moment of all important EC legislative proposals.

The Brussels offices of the *Länder* do not have diplomatic status, so as not to upset Bonn and the other 11 member-states. The offices are often organised on a private-enterprise model.

Nevertheless the Foreign Ministry or the permanent representatives keep a suspicious eye on the *Länder's* activities.

Just imagine if all 12 member-states were structured along federal lines and their provinces had a foot in the Brussels door. It would be even more difficult to reach unanimity in the Council of Ministers.

Criticism is often made that Europe's industry and agriculture are heard too loudly in Brussels; on the other hand the workers' and consumers' lobby has a softer voice.

It may be that the individual trades unions are oriented politically in various ways: for this reason the European Trades Union Confederation is rather restrained in it activities.

Despite, or perhaps because of, its 20 member organisations the Confederation is blamed for being awkward.

This was shown, for example, by the long time it took the Confederation to bring up for public discussion the social dimensions of the single European market, which were sketched out in the EC's White Book as early as 1985. Almost too late!

In June this year the Confederation could have wrung from the EC summit in Madrid, the concession that rights should be given to the social formation of the single European market equally the technical and economic aspects.

Now the Confederation, the UNICE and the CEEP (public companies) are trying to hammer out a joint line.

They were fundamentally in agreement that the single European market should not be purchased with a dismantling of social benefits for workers.

Workers organisations have taken up the Social Charter with its obligatory minimum rights for workers, supported by Commission president Jacques Delors and contested heatedly by Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

The single European market should bring advantages to ordinary people and not just more influence for capital.

That is why the Office for European Consumer Associations has been set up in the Rue Royale in Brussels. The office sees itself as an antithesis to the industrial, agricultural and trade associations.

The representatives of consumers have skilfully drawn the media into their work. Since the Consumers' Council has joined in the range of the Council of Ministers meetings the Office of the European Consumers Associations has clung to the Council like a *limpet*.

The office arranges press conferences and provides press releases to those hungry for information in addition to the very dry consumer guidelines.

The consumer lobby can be certain of a sympathetic hearing by the media and the general public in Europe as no other. We are all consumers.

Consumer protection, whether it be for safe children's toys or producer liability, must have priority.

But citizens' pressure groups have a tough time in Brussels, crowded with lobbyists.

Gerd Werle

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 25 August 1989)

New bench to ease load on court of justice

The European Court of Justice in Luxembourg has handled more than 1,600 cases over the past 25 years and has handed down 1,500 preliminary decisions. The load has been too heavy. That has been clear for a long time.

This month, that load is to be lightened. Twelve judges (one from each of the Community 12) are to be appointed to a Court of First Instance, which is expected to hear a third of all cases. The Council of Ministers called for such a court to be set up as long ago as 1974 to take over complaints of workers in EC institutions.

But it has taken until now and the Single European Act (which provides for the completion of the internal market by 1992) for governments to end their differences on the structure and responsibilities of such a court.

Although the new court's responsibilities will include all complaints from officials and other EC employees, its main role will be to decide disputes involving questions of competition, steel, anti-dumping and other economic complaints.

These are areas in which often complex facts have to be examined, which means proceedings are often long.

Over the past 25 years, the Court of Justice's work has unobtrusively but effectively hastened integration in the principles of the Treaties of Rome (which lay down the structure of the Community.)

The European Court of Justice has been overtaxed for a long time. Since a complaint in Luxembourg is the last means of establishing infringements against the spirit or the letter of the treaties, the number of complaints pile up, the narrower the network of agreements and European laws becomes.

Last year 373 legal cases or complaints were lodged, considerably more than the 238 cases the 13 judges in the court conclude in 1988.

Over the past 15 years the duration of a case has extended from nine months to two years.

In decisions in which national courts call for the European Court of Justice to rule on a principle of European law, the proceedings last usually 18 months, a period when the national court's proceedings must be kept in abeyance. (These cases usually involve disputes about classification in customs tariffs.)

This unreasonable delay should be shortened in future. It is hoped that the European Court of Justice will be able to get more deeply involved in its own tasks, the interpretation and amplification of EC law.

Originally the Court of First Instance was to be made up of seven judges. This decision foundered on the impossible difficulty of naming judges for the court, since naturally no member country wanted to relinquish its right to name a judge.

There will now be 12 judges with three of them acting as advocates-general.

The 12 judges were nominated in mutual amity by the member-states on 11 July. Heinrich Kirschner was nominated by the Federal Republic.

He has been a judge and has had considerable experience in the Justice Ministry, where he was head of Minister Engelhard's office and head of a subdivision.

The Portuguese judge José Luis da Cruz Vilaca has been named president as "primus inter pares."

As advocate-general at the Court of Justice he can look back on considerable experience in Luxembourg.

This will be as important as the Court of First Instance also on cost grounds because he has his domicile in Luxembourg near the Court of Justice and will be able to utilise the Court's secretarial facilities and economic service.

Despite its name, Court of First Instance, the court is not a general court of first instance, but basically responsible for established specialist areas.

Nevertheless appeals against decisions at the European Court of Justice are possible, generally however only if the decision of the lawsuit of the complainant touches on his legal position directly.

For this reason contradictions in taking or hearing evidence or other procedural decisions will be excluded so that the Luxembourg judges can process the host of cases which they have on hand to deal with.

Wolfgang Stock

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 31 August 1989)

■ BUSINESS

Siemens deal with IBM creates a huge telephone marketing force

Munich-based electrical engineering multi Siemens has joined forces with IBM in a part-takeover, part marketing cooperation deal that will create the biggest telephone and telephone equipment sales organisation in the world.

After eight months of tough takeover talks Siemens is taking over an entire division from IBM, the Rolm works which IBM itself took over in 1984.

The second spectacular news item is that IBM and Siemens have agreed to cooperate closely in marketing worldwide.

In Europe and Australia IBM is to sell nothing but Siemens telephone equipment, albeit under its own name.

Now modern technology can transmit not only the spoken word but data and text, the telephone network is the backbone of office communication.

The company that installs a firm's telephone system can reasonably hope to supply it with office equipment of all kinds. Business machinery manufacturers are confident they are onto a money-spinner.

Office telephone systems are destined to become computerised internal communication networks. That is why computer manufacturers and telephone companies are, as a rule, increasingly at loggerheads.

Telephone installations worth nearly DM20bn a year already find buyers. But



only well-heeled companies can afford to develop the technology required. R & D is expensive, growth rates are modest, say five per cent at present.

If you want to hold your own as a European manufacturer you must carve yourself a fair-sized slice of the US market. And Siemens has done just that. And not just that.

By taking over Rolm the Munich multi has reached the top of the ladder in world ratings. The extra 18 per cent of the US market is enough to show others, such as AT&T, Northern Telecom, Alcatel and Nec, a clean pair of contacts.

For IBM the deal marks an end to an inglorious chapter in the corporation's history. Big Blue's venture into the telephone business was an expensive one.

Keen to upstage AT&T and convinced that electronics trends would combine computer and telephone systems, IBM took Rolm over five years ago, paying $1.5bn for access to the telephone business.

But neither computer and telephone technology nor the respective corporate philosophies hit it off. Rolm continued to lose money, latterly $200m a year.

Siemens have paid only half the price IBM paid. "Well under DM1bn," says Siemens director Hermann Franz, letting as little of the cat out of the bag as possible.

The remainder is only part of the losses IBM has made in the telephone business. It devised a special version of the Rolm system in a bid to gain a foothold in European markets, for instance.

Unlike cars, which can be driven on virtually any road surface, telephone equipment has to be adapted to suit the specifications of the country to which it is to be exported. Telecom approval is expensive and protracted.

But IBM went to the trouble and expense of complying with Bundespost telecom requirements in the Federal Republic.

Bundespost approval was not granted, however, until IBM's head office had decided — better late than never — to quit.

Chief executive officer John F. Akers felt the price IBM was having to pay to retain a foothold in this tough market was simply too high.

So he decided to cooperate with Siemens rather than to compete with the German firm. He and Siemens' Karlheinz Kaske reached agreement in principle in December 1988.

IBM then announced that it was not going to go ahead with its telephone plans in Germany. What is more, IBM was to pull out of Europe entirely, leaving the telephone market to Siemens et al.

IBM plans to play a leading role in marketing Siemens equipment. If IBM succeeds in selling its European customers Siemens telephones (under its own name), Siemens might in effect end up as No. 1 in the European market, outstripping Alcatel of France.

That presupposes Siemens and IBM have opted for the right strategy. They may not have done so, especially in the crucial American market.

In the United States the two electronics giants have set up a joint sales subsidiary, Rolm Co., that will start by selling both brands side by side.

It remains to be seen whether this (inhouse) competition will be good for business. That will largely depend on whether customers welcome the choice or feel it is too much trouble — and take their trade elsewhere.

Ellen Hancock, in charge of communications systems at IBM and the Big Blue executive with whom Siemens negotiated, sounds a note of optimism.

"The terms negotiated are just what our customers want: a worldwide telecommunications strategy," she says.

All is sweetness and light. As yet. Siemens' Peter Pribilla agrees with her. He sees cooperation on the terms agreed as being "unsurpassed in respect of both technical and manpower resources."

That remains to be seen. Adding market shares is not enough; they must also be held on to.

Rolm has so far been able to hold on to many customers only by offering substantial discounts. IBM and Siemens are only likely to stay on good terms if they succeed soon in making their US operations profitable.

Siemens' financial director Karl-Hermann Baumann has thought up a special arrangement to encourage IBM to sell telephones and equipment hard.

The full price Siemens will pay for IBM's telephone division is to be pegged to profits — and will only be paid in full if Rolm's performance is on a par with "an adequate return on the capital invested."

The transatlantic link settles a dispute of old between Siemens and Nixdorf, the Munich company's German computer competitor.

Years ago, when Nixdorf made a bid to compete with Siemens in telephones too, Siemens executives were riled by a Nixdorf advertising slogan.

Computer experts, Nixdorf's slogan ran, knew more about telephones than telephone experts knew about computers. IBM would no longer agree.

Gunhild Lütge

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 25 August 1989)

Continued from page 4

was decisive. The US atomic bomb came too late to put an end to Hitler. By the time the first nuclear test succeeded, the German Reich had already surrendered unconditionally and the "Führer" had committed suicide in his Berlin bunker. But the Bomb, developed by the Russians four years later, has frozen the status quo in Europe.

Any attempt at change by military means has since run the risk of national downfall and destruction. Change today can only be the result of processes in society.

"Let the German people perish," Hitler ranted during his last days in the bunker. They haven't perished. In the West they have the most decent, most humane, most freedom-loving state Germany has ever seen. The Hitler era casts a long shadow of guilt and shame, but it no longer looms dark on the horizon. Only in the German Democratic Republic (GDR), where ageing rulers do not realise that a new day is dawning, does it still darken both the present and the future.

The GDR's rulers were against Hitler, and many opposed him in a manly and courageous fashion, but they feel that because they were opposed to Hitler they are still right to hold on, for all they are worth, to their Stone Age socialism. People in the GDR are Hitler's last victims.

The German people have not perished. They have ended their murderous days, later perhaps than other Europeans, but no less definitively.

Now, 50 years after Hitler plunged the world into war, they can afford to lift their heads in self-assurance and join the ranks of nations. And they can afford to do so the more proudly for clearly accepting their past and decisively championing the cause of common sense, moderation and humanity.

The Second World War is long past. The Cold War, its late progeny, is drawing to a close which marks the fresh start the Old World missed out on in 1945.

The Germans plunged Europe into a major war by invading Poland 50 years ago. They now have an opportunity — in Poland, as coincidence would have it, — of helping to lay the foundations of a new European order based on external independence, internal freedom and common interests that transcend systems.

Today's free Germans would do well to be no less determined and imaginative in lending peaceful shape to the future than Hitler was in his destructive infamy.

That would be less a means of coming to terms with the past than an investment in the future — over and above the war graves and war memorials.

Theo Sommer

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 1 September 1989)

■ BUSINESS

The little revolutionary who turned into a benevolent capitalist

A small, framed black-and-white photograph of a pretty woman sits on the desk of Kurt A. Körber's office in the Bergedorf district of Hamburg.

Herr Körber, who looks 65 but who is 80, points to the picture: "That is my mother. I have her to thank for my successful career." She would now be 96.

A few years ago he wrote to her: "Looking back I recall my childhood, how in 1918, after the First World War, in view of the millions of dead, your faith in God faltered.

"I recall how you strove for social reform in the company of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, and founded with them the Independent Socialist Party of Germany. I recall vividly how on your instruction I, then 10, stood on the podium at the party meeting in 1919 during the November Revolution and proclaimed the formation of a New Germany.

"I recall you saying that Christ once came to free the world of sin; in truth, he was a socialist and fought in our ranks with us."

This was not the sort of start one would expect a future businessman to make: but the young man did not remain long with this revolutionary company. He was much more a man who fiddled about with things, did things with his own hands, an inventor. He changed over to the "other side," as it were, and roughly speaking became a capitalist, but of a rare kind.

We passed a gallery of pictures a little later when we left his office together. The elderly gentleman pointed to a portrait under which there was a brass plate engraved with the name "Albert Zielinski."

With pride he said of the then young revolutionary, full of hope: "That was my first works council chairman."

He had painted this picture himself. The other pictures were also from his hand, portraits of his business partners, friends and directors of his many firms.

Herr Körber, who is an amateur artist, turns 80 on 7 September. He is the founder of Körber AG, a small engineering firm with an annual international turnover of DM700m. More than half this is produced by the manufacture of filter cigarettes and the rest from special grinding machines for jet turbines and production lines for the paper and packaging industry.

Herr Körber is also an inventor who holds more than 200 patents, is well known in his sector of industry. He is not so well known for the products he has developed and marketed himself. He is much better known for the unusual uses to which he has put his material gains.

His name stands for something which does not really exist: Kurt Körber is a capitalist of benefit to the public.

He has set up the Körber Foundation, and since the end of the war Körber, who is married but childless, has contributed most of his income of between a third and a half a billion marks to this foundation.

Every year it provides millions for the promotion of science and research, educational and cultural projects, for the care of old people and the sick and for understanding between peoples within the framework of the Bergedorfer Gesprächskreis."

His employees have a share in his company's profits. He and the Foundation hold the equity: his share will pass to the foundation after his death.

A press release issued by the company mid-July stated: "Since the introduction of profit-sharing in 1971 Körber AG has paid to its employees as additional salary, wages and other social benefits a total of DM150m."

Kurt Körber said: "I have not made this enormous wealth alone. All my employees had a hand in it, from directors to the charladies."

He recalled that "as a schoolboy I had a considerable inclination to solving difficult technical problems."

His father was a motor car technician in Berlin. When he was 15 the young Körber obtained his first patent.

He said: "Perhaps you know the automatically-controlled radio transmitter Ableseskala with the moving indicator under it, which was fitted to every radio until a few years ago."

Later he co-developed artificial kidneys. "But nothing made as much money as the machinery for fully automatic production of filter cigarettes," he said. He pointed out that making cigarettes was not the aim of the exercise. The machines might have been made to make anything.

It was quite accidental that as a young engineer and high frequency technician with Siemens, he was working on the development of an "electronic eye" for the cigarette industry, commissioned by the Dresden-based Maschinenfabrik Universelle. In this work he created pioneering inventions, so that eventually Universelle wooed him away from Siemens for three times his Siemens' salary, making him technical director.

"When the Thousand-Year Reich came we could see that there would be a war. I busied myself with the development and construction of a defence de-



vice just at the right time since Maschinenfabrik Universelle was quickly converted to arms production. I did not want to get involved in munitions in any way," he said.

The Navy gave him a contract to design and build a search-light for coastal artillery, a kind of forerunner of radar, as Herr Körber describes it today.

More and more workers were taken on. "I saved an enormous number of people from a hero's death by taking them on for essential war work," he said.

While his father and mother were active anti-Nazis, and his brother only just survived, seriously wounded, after being posted to a punishment battalion, he never became a resistance fighter, he explained.

"But I was one of the few Universelle directors who was not a member of the Nazi Party, so I was the only one not picked up after the war," he said.

The dismantling of factories by the Russians and the insistence on communist ideology after the war wrecked Körber's efforts to rebuild Universelle, even with the establishment of a cooperative.

He fled over the frontier at Bebra into the West carrying with him his drawings and designs for the production of machines for handling tobacco.

There he was deloused by the Americans and travelled on in a truck to Hamburg, where the major cigarette manufacturers have their headquarters. He asked them for a job.

"I took a room in the centre of the city and set up my first office in a telephone call box at Dammtor railway station — until someone stole the cable to the receiver and brought my business to a standstill."

Nevertheless he was successful in his business affairs. The tobacco industry was glad to have someone who could put their technology back into operation.

He recalled: "I was well paid and gradually became a capitalist, which did not please me because of my upbringing and my background."

At the end of the 1950s he had built up his "small industrial empire" with the Hamburger Universelle and the Hauni-Werken, to be the technical launching pad "for sound further development of my business group, independent of outside capital, the Körber AG of today in fact."

The foundation stone for his imperium was the development with international patents of his ideas for the production of filter cigarettes. About 90 per cent of all filter cigarettes in the world are producer on Körber machinery. The anti-smoking lobby has obliged the company to diversify and expand into other sectors such as machinery for the packaging industry and processing paper.

As a result of this success he asked himself "whether material success could legitimise our industrial society?"

He answered this question for himself by saying, "anyone who utilises the freedom and the creative powers of a free market economy also has the rsponsibility to contribute to its preservation and continued development.

"And anyone who has the good fortune to live in Western society, and become affluent in it, should put a part of his property voluntarily back into society in the sense of a strong social link for capital and to insure the continuence of our liberal society."

According to the philosophy which governs his business and life, businessmen with their wealth of ideas "are called upon today to contribute by means of ideas and material support to the immaterial values and motives in our society."

This means that be has placed himself "between the systems," and, as he says looking back, "built his own clear world," when 30 years ago and with a start-up capital of DM6.6m he founded the Körber Foudation.

The foundation has available today DM150m. "Outside the commercial world of supply and demand," he applys capital through this foundation to cultural aims and scientific purposes, "which we must tackle so that we are not smothered by affluence."

He maintains that contributions of this sort to the stabilisation of the Western social system promote development efforts geared to the future, developments which press towards the solution of problems.

President Richard von Weizsäcker honoured this involvement by saying: "You approve commercial profit and have behaved accordingly: but what distinguishes you from others is to have converted this profit into humane ideas and practices."

Pioneering inventions... Kurt A. Körber. (Photo: ...)

Former chancellor Helmut Schmidt, with whom Körber is on friendly terms, said that Kurt Körber shunned nothing to do good.

Although he was not born a citizen of Hamburg he is accepted by the old-established families in the city. This is useful to the old and the young, to scientists, artists and politicians.

After the war Körber settled in the Bergedorf district of Hamburg. The Körber Foundation has built there an old people's home and supports the local Theater im Park.

In 1973 the foundation announced the setting up of the school competition on German history for the Federal President's Prize, "with the intention of developing a greater awareness of German history among pupils in the Federal Republic." This has since become an annual event.

The latest competition themes were "The history of the environment" as a contribution to environmental protection, and "Our place — home for foreigners?" against xenophobia. Prizes totalling DM250,000 for each were offered.

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Körber Foundation a "Prize for European Science" was announced in 1984, endowed with DM40m, more than the Nobel Prize for this discipline.

The first winner of the prize was the French research team around Professor Luc Montagnier from the Pasteur Institute in Paris.

This team was awarded two million deutschemarks by the committee of independent scientific institutions such as the Max Planck Society for the Promotion of Science, Munich, for the team's discovery of the Aids virus HTLV III and for building up integrated European aids research.

"While the Nobel Prize rewards past performances, we intend this Prize for research and development tasks to urge scientists on to solutions, to provide financial support and so speed things up." Herr Körber said explaining the fine differences in aims, with which he competes with the executives of the will of Alfred Nobel.

The Körber Foundation is linked to the establishment of an engineering school for production and process technology, and with the Rolf Liebermann Prize for operatic compositions.

The foundation is also linked to the Boy Gobert Prize for young actors and

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■ SPACE RESEARCH

Where reality exceeds all expectations

The future of telecommunications and the media lies in outer space, where a network of satellites links all parts of the world.

Deutsche Bundespost, the German Federal postal service, has opened up a new era in telecommunications with its comsat, Kopernikus.

More than 40 years ago the British-born writer Arthur C. Clarke staked his unblemished reputation as a scientist on what in those days seemed a fantastic idea: that three satellites were enough to forge a round-the-work telecommunications link.

Little restraint is needed nowadays to forecast advances in satellite communications. The reality usually exceeds all expectations.

The satellites now in orbit handle over 100,000 telephone calls simultaneously. They also relay nearly 100,000 hours of TV programmes a year.

Kopernikus, the German comsat, has also made the Ptolemaic world view obsolete among artificial satellites stationed at an altitude of 36,000 kilometres.

Kopernikus relays not only telephone calls, computer data and TV programmes; it also relays digital radio programmes in compact disc fidelity. It marks the beginning of a new chapter in the eventful history of the Bundespost.

It is a trendsetter in satellite technology, demonstrating the pace of innovation.

It is only 25 years since Early Bird inaugurated intercontinental satellite telecommunications. It could handle either 240 phone calls or a single TV programme.

The Bundespost was quick to appreciate the importance of satellites for telecommunications and to promote their use.

It was a founder-member of Intelsat and set up a tracking station in Raisting, near Munich, that was first used on a large scale to relay coverage of the 1972 Munich Olympics.

The Bundespost today has a roughly 3.5-per-cent stake in Intelsat, making it the fifth-largest shareholder among the organisations 100-plus members.

Two thirds of its interncontinental telecommunications are relayed via Intelsat satellites that handle telephone calls to over 150 countries.

In Europe Intelsat has long faced competition from Eutelsat, in which the Bundespost has a 10-per-cent stake.

It uses Eutelsat satellites for all manner of telecom services, including the reception of TV programmes that are fed into cable networks.

Had it not been for the cable-comsat combination, the number of TV programmes German viewers can see could not have been increased from 1985 on.

Satellite relay is the only way in which all Europe can be supplied with a wide range of radio and TV programmes.

Great expectations are placed in TV Sat 2, which will relay programmes straight to the viewer and play an important minor role in setting new TV standards.

TV Sat will boost the range of programmes available in areas where cable TV is ruled out on economic grounds.

TV Sat is a high-powered satellite relaying transmissions much more powerfully than Kopernikus, for instance, with the result that it can be received directly via smaller dish antennas.

The five TV programmes beamed via TV Sat 2 are transmitted in the new D2-Mac standard by which the Bundespost is taking a decisive first step in the direction of a new era in sound and picture quality.

It is a step in the direction of HD-Mac standard high-definition TV.

In addition to much better sound and picture quality, D2-Mac will soon — probably some time next year — launch a wide-screen format.

It will combine a ratio of 16:9 (as opposed to 4:3) and twice the linage, plus an improvement in horizontal resolution, achieving quality on a par with the cinema screen.

TV Sat, with its high power, is ideally suited for relaying programmes in HD-Mac quality, so the self-styled experts who were quick to dismiss TV Sat as an outmoded technology were a little premature.

In retrospect we can count ourselves lucky that such a high output was envisaged when TV Sat was first planned 10 years ago. This power may at one stage have seemed unnecessary but can now be seen as a prerequisite for the next technological generation.

This point ends arguments that TV Sat and Kopernikus are rivals. Only TV Sat, with its high power, will make it possible to receive quality HD-Mac signals with a dish antenna less than one metre in diameter.

Larger antennas are needed to receive HD-Mac signals relayed by Kopernikus, which are thus suitable only for g ound stations from which cable TV programmes are relayed.

Kopernikus, custom-built for the Bundespost by German industry, serves

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Consternation as satellite slips into wrong orbit

The orbiting of Hipparcos, the European Space Agency's astrometry satellite, has gone wrong.

It now looks as if it will not be going into geostationary orbit. This means it will not be able to perform its tasks as well as planned.

It was to have taken precise measurement of the positions, movement of and distances between fixed stars. But it now seems that not even reprogramming its computer to handle readings taken from an elliptical orbit will be possible.

Measurements taken near the Earth's atmosphere are distorted by natural factors of all kinds.

The apogee engine has had to be written off, but the satellite's orbit is to be changed, using a small booster engine, to keep a minimum distance from the Earth of between 400km and 700km (its maximum altitude is 36,000km).

At present it comes within 200km (125 miles) of the Earth's surface. Constant friction in the upper atmosphere would quickly slow it down and sooner or later cause it to re-enter and crash.

Less drag

At altitudes of between 400 and 700km this risk is less serious because the upper atmosphere there does not have anywhere near the same amount of drag.

Yet even at these altitudes the few remaining atmospheric particles, together with "dents" in the Earth's magnetic field, are enough to make the satellite's trajectory unpredictable.

Precision measurements are thus ruled out. The original aim was to establish the position of fixed stars to within 0.002 seconds of an arc.

Depending on the satellite's life-span its accuracy in elliptical orbit can at best be 0.01 or 0.02 seconds, which is nonetheless an improvement on the best possible terrestrial readings.

The satellite's life-span will be a crucial factor in determining how accurately fixed stars' movements and the distances between them can be measured.

Several readings need taking, and 80 per star were originally planned. Three or four now seem the most that can reasonably be expected.

The radiation belt that surrounds the



Earth is one reason why. It is a belt in the upper atmosphere where electrically charged particles from the Sun are trapped and sent like ping-pong balls from one pole of the Earth's magnetic field to the other.

In geostationary orbit Hipparcos would have "hovered" above this radiation belt. On its elliptical orbit it will constantly traverse it. Its solar power cells will gradually be destroyed.

No-one knows how long it will be before its power supply is cut off. It should remain operational for at least six months, but it could continue to function for two years.

But Hipparcos is unlikely for another reason to carry on measuring positions and distances for the full two years.

In a geostationary orbit it would mainly have been in the sunlight, so its batteries are small, designed to store solar power for brief passages through the Earth's shadow.

Nearer Earth the satellite will spend longer periods in the shade. They could prove too long, with not enough time for a full recharge. So measurements might well fade and die after a year.

These natural circumstances are what make life difficult for project scientists and limit the mission's prospects in an elliptical orbit.

No provision was made for a failure of the apogee engine, so it is just as well that an astrometry satellite can work for a while from a non-geostationary orbit.

That distinguishes Hipparcos from satellites such as TV Sat, which are useless if they fail to reach a geostationary orbit.

Project scientists must now reprogramme the satellite's computer. It took them about 10 years to draw up the original programme of measurements, so they cannot be expected to supply an equally satisfactory replacement in a matter of days.

But every effort will be undertaken to ensure that the satellite yields as much research information as possible.

Günter Paul

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 29 August 1989)

■ **THE THEATRE/ARTS**

Hara-kiri after writing novel; plus lots and lots of other stories

More than 20 world premieres and many more German premieres are planned for the coming season in opera houses and theatres all over Germany.

The State Theatre in Berlin is giving the world premiere of the play, *Elisabeth II*, written by Thomas Bernhard who died in February.

In his last season in Berlin general manager Heribert Sasse will produce in the Schloßpark Theater the German première of a play set in Geneva written by Lee Blessing, *Ein Waldspaziergang*. The play deals with a conversation between a Soviet and an American diplomat during a walk in the woods.

The Deutsche Oper will give the world première of Hans Werner Henze's opera *Das verratene Meer*, based on a novel by Japanese writer Yukio Mishima, who committed hara kiri on 25 November 1970, the day after he completed his masterpiece *The sea of fertility* and following his failure to instigate an army coup.

Henze's opera, which will be produced by general manager Götz Friedrich, deals with the love between a mother and her son, who kills her lover out of jealousy.

In Munich the often-postponed world première of Julien Green's *Ein Morgen gibt es nicht* is in this season's programme of the Bayerisches Staatsschauspiel. The play, to be produced by Volker Hesse, deals with the conflicts in a Sicilian family.

The Deutsches Schauspielhaus in Hamburg, under its new general manager, Michael Bogdanov, will present the German-language premiere of M. Butterfly, by David Henry Hwang.

This play deals with a spy trial in which a former French diplomat and a Chinese opera singer are entangled.

Hamburg's "Malersaal" will also produce a German-language first performance, the satire *Allein mit allen*, by the Russian playwright Alexander Gelman.

The Thalia Theater in Hamburg plans to produce the world premiere of the musical *The Black Rider* by Robert Wilson, a ghost story which has its origins in Weber's *Der Freischutz*.

In April next year the Kieler Schauspielhaus will put on the world premiere of *Blattgold* by Ulrich Zaum. This play, to be produced by Johannes Klaus, deals with the occultist Jan Erik Hannussen.

In the Kiel Opera House Peter Werhahn will produce a first work by Friedhelm Döhl, *Medea*. The opera is modelled on Franz Grillparzer's dramatic trilogy *Das goldene Vlies*.

The Hildesheim's Stadttheater will put on in January the German premiere of David Hare's *Geheime Verzückung*.

British critics acclaimed this play as the best play of 1988. It is a family drama, describing two contrasting sisters in a background of Margaret Thatcher's Britain.

The Deutsches Theater in Göttingen will show the first German production of a play by the Polish writer Slawomir Mrozek, *Portrait*, which deals with the denunciations in the Stalin era.

Osnabrück plans to put on in November the world premiere of the chamber opera *Die Verweigerung* by the East German composer Gerhard Rosenfeld. The libretto has been written by Gerhard Hartmann.

The opera is based on themes from a novella by the Russian writer Gogol and deals with human isolation.

Brian Clark's *Byzanz in Sicht* will be given its world premiere in the Osnabrücker Schauspiel in October. This play takes a long, deep look at our career-oriented society.

A new comedy by Daniel Doppler alias Hellmuth Karasek will be given its world premiere in the programme in April.

Karasek, head of the arts pages in *Der Spiegel* news magazine, has entitled his comedy *Innere Sicherheit*. It will be put on in April and deals with the goings-on behind the scenes in Bonn.

Premières in Osnabrück in September include *La Chunga* by Mario Vargas Llosa, and in April *Das Rätsel der Rosen* by Manuel Puig.

Peruvian Llosa describes the fate of a South American woman who owns a pub. Manual Puig's psychological crime drama deals with the life of a rich woman patient and her nursing sister.

The Theater Dortmund will be showing *Ein anarchistischer Bankier*, based on a prose work by Fernando Pessoa.

The Mühlheimer Theater an der Ruhr will put on a new play by the Croatian writer, Slobodan Snajder, entitled *Bauhaus*. This play will be produced by the Italian theatre director Roberto Ciulli.

The Bonner Theater will give the world premiere of *Adam*, a play by the Israeli writer Joshua Sobol, produced by David Mouchtar-Samorai. Sobol also wrote *Die Palästinenserin*.

Adam is the story of a Jewish police officer who is ordered to liquidate part a ghetto.

The East German writer Heiner Müller is being highlighted in next year's "experimenta" in Frankfurt. His play *King Lear*, based on Shakespeare's play, will be given its world premiere under the direction of Robert Wilson.

In the play *Die andere Uhr* by Elke Lang the actors in the Theater am Turm will perform in the whole of the theatre while the audience can move around among them.

The world premiere of *Tod des Forgesezten* by Thomas Brasch is included in the programme of the Nationaltheater in Mannheim for the coming season. This play deals with the murder of the dramatist August von Kotzebue in Mannheim in 1819.

The Theater der Stadt Heidelberg will give the world premiere of *Der letzte Wähler* in December. Detlef Michel's play deals with a voter who is accidentally left off the voting list so that the election has to be held again.

The Freiburger Theater plans to put on in March next year the world premiere of *Die Nazisirene*. This is based on *Ein Stück für Zarah Leander* by Andreas Marber.

Hansjörg Utzerath, drama director of the Theater in Nürnberg, plans to put on his own play, *Der 33-Tage-Pabst*, based on Pope John Paul I.

Stephan Barbarino is putting on in the Staatstheater Stuttgart the world premiere of the opera *Die verwachsene Froschhaut* by the jazz musician and composer Wolfgang Dauner.

Ballet fans in Stuttgart can look forward to the world premiere of John Neumeier's version of *Medea*. Neumeier, chef de ballet in Hamburg, has designed the sets and costumes himself.

dpa

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 25 August 1989)

Surveys reveal the advantages of heavy state subsidies

Theatre is expensive. *Länder* and local communities will hand out two billion marks in subsidies to opera houses and theatres during the coming season, 1989/1990.

In doing this they not only contribute to cultural life, they maintain many thousands of jobs. State-subsidised theatres would not be able to function without carpenters, fitters, painters, without lighting technicians, stagehands and administrative staff, singers, actors, dancers, members of the chorus and orchestra.

A market is also supported by taxpayers' funds which are handed out to theatres because they are used to buy materials, paint, paper, metal, wood and a host of other materials.

Then people attending these cultural events, at least those going to concerts and museums, pay out money in a non-cultural sphere, by eating and drinking in theatre or opera house restaurants and bars. They even stay the night in a hotel to attend a particular performance, and leave their cars in multi-storey car parks.

The subsidies which are paid out serve to promote the economy then, and most of the money makes its way back into the city's coffers or the state's treasury.

Surveys carried out in Bremen and Switzerland, very much quoted, have shown that this is not a naive fallacy.

Smart politicians should use such information when they are called upon to defend theatre subsidies from doubts about them which are always surfacing.

It must be remembered that the arts do not satisfy the material, but they extend into that area which bureaucrats regard as a sector, impossible to measure, the area of the creative and of fantasy.

The theatre, particularly drama, casts a searching eye over our social condition. Matters concerning humanity and history are often dealt with, such as the cruel power games in Shakespeare, realistic family upheavals in Ibsen and Strindberg, fateful interconnections between the political and the private life as in Georg Büchner's *The Death of Danton*, just to mention a few classical as well as current examples.

These performances are presented before audiences of hundreds, sometimes before more than a thousand, that is in front of an audience which otherwise only comes together on rare occasions, before a public around which is spun a web of dramatic and controversial action.

This promotes discussion, or at least a collective experience.

You do not have to be a theatre fan to know or sense that by comparison with the television just how much greater and frightening is the effect of Antigone's path to her death in the theatre.

This "live effect" makes demands on the audience in many more distinct ways, and the heated discussion about the theatre is based on this.

Thanks to these audiences from time to time a spark flares up in the sleeping intellectual life of this country, sleeping despite all the cultural bustle.

Places such as theatres and opera houses ought to appear as indispensible and worthy of support to politicians who have faith in the significance of public opinion. But the realities are quite different.

The fact that the city of Cologne did not provide the Schauspielhaus manager Klaus Pierwoss and his ensemble with an equally large theatre during the asbestos crisis is just one sensational incident.

With the stroke of a pen, Hamburg reduced the subsidy to Deutsche Schauspielhaus managing director Peter Zadek by three million marks and, when he lost interest in the theatre during his last season, the city wept crocodile tears.

In Essen the marvellous opera house was built to designs by Alvar Aalto, but the Schauspielhaus, managed by Hansgünther Heyme, had to soldier on with just enough to get by with.

In Bochum the contract of Claus Peymann's successor, Frank-Patrick Steckel, was extended only a year so that the city fathers could consider quietly, after the local government elections, whether Steckel was worthy of serving the Bochum comrades as general manager of the Schauspielhaus.

One should not be led to false conclusions by the fact that all these cities named above are governed by the SPD.

It should not be forgotten that 10 years ago the CDU got rid of Claus Peymann, who today manages the Burgtheater Vienna. He had dared to request if he could put an appeal on the notice board in the Württembergischer Staatstheater, Stuttgart, for financial help to pay for dental treatment for the terrorist Gudrun Ensslin.

Scepticism, indifference and a lack of knowledge of the role the theatre plays, or could play, in our society, has the effect of being a permanent threat to the theatre.

Sometimes it is difficult to dispel the suspicion that the cities could be reserving further cut backs on the subsidies to theatres as a means of disciplining subordinate theatre managers, who try to contradict the rosy world painted by so many for its publicity value.

It was surprising recently that the CDU in Cologne recently propogated the idea of making available a million marks for the training of an alternative ensemble, an idea which came from non-subsidised theatres.

Such a plan acknowledges the growing significance of alternative theatre, separated from the major, classical, expensive theatres. Of course this presumes that the CDU politicians are just letting off an election campaign squib.

But at the same time it raises the hope of a climate in which the theatre generally can expand itself freely, more in keeping with the idea of our theatre system renowned as a model system all over the world, and as is appropriate in a free country.

Rainer Hartmann

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 26 August 1989)

■ **WRITERS' FESTIVAL**

Maturing and growing and delving into attitudes of isolated farmers

The Erlangen Writers Festival began a decade ago as a casual garden fête for writers and readers accompanied by readings in the summer of 1980.

It has since matured and has, in fact, become so big that many complain it is too big.

The festival this year, the 10th, was made up of 24 hours of programmes spread over three days for 25 writers and thinkers in two dozen readings, three impressive discussions from the platform and plays as fringe "satyr plays."

A not-particularly-well-known ex-dancer, Elfriede Müller, presented the farce *Damenbrise*. She created an exciting and lively atmosphere at midnight before the performance of Peter Handke's *Publikums Beschimpfung*.

This farce dealt with a fat, successful theatre director who invites the supposed authoress, who in fact is only a theatre prompt, to a restaurant to a plate of alphabet soup.

This was something much more substantial than the question which had been asked on the platform beforehand: "What kind of theatre does the Federal Republic need?" The unanimous reply could only be: another kind.

Wiesbaden literary manager Michael W. Schlicht complained: "The self-assurance of German theatre people is shaken by the idea that there are no longer any taboos."

Kurt Hübner, who discovered Zadek and is praised as the patron of the former Bremen experiments, saw no dividing lines any longer between "actors and the society they serve."

Michael Merschmeier, critic of "Theater heute," said that the impression of the theatre today was that it was weak and poor. He said: "The aesthetics have all been tried out, but one cannot fail to notice that too few authors do not think deeply enough about the contents of their work."

One speaks of the necessity of a long pause to think about improving literature, and one speaks of an internal change concerning the right to have a say about literature and drama.

But in the meantime the colleagues of yesterday, who discussed the problems of having a say in literature and drama, have "become daddies," according to actress Lore Stefanek.

Uwe Jens Jensen from the Vienna Burgtheater appealed for "more stress for contemporary playwrights in theatre programmes." He did not believe that there was a lack of taboos.

Hübner made any number of quotable remarks of a political nature, such as: "The SPD has an attitude to the arts similar to that of a farmer on an isolated farm to homosexuality."

Looking at his own experience he wanted "to shake up the world from its sleep."

The exposure of the so-called divine will, he said, should eventually stimulate a playwright. At this point there was general relief that Rolf Hochhuth was not present.

In the literary discussion the next morning novelist Eva Demski delivered her short lecture on the attitudes of directors. She said: "My goodness, we are not doing too badly."

Uwe Wittstock, a reader for the S. Fischer publishing house, in his assessment of the situation emphatically agreed with her. He is on record as having said that the Federal Republic was almost a paradise for writers but a difficult terrain for literature.

He said: "One can live well as a supposed writer, if that is good enough for you."

In the search for things positive he said: "A few of the relaxed attitudes in society have reached the impudence and anarchy of literature."

Dieter Wellershof said he saw all his colleagues at present "thrashing about in a marsh without any solid ground beneath them."

The general retreat into skilfulness was, he said, "hopeless, arbitrary and without objective importance."

Festival presenter Jürgen Busche and poet Peter Hamm quarrelled hopelessly about such criteria. Hamm told of his enthusiasm for Gottfried Benn in his youth. He caught the "sound" of the contents of his work and sought the political element in literature only "in the development of a language different to the one prevailing."

He explained succinctly that he did not think that Siegfried Lenz was "relevant."

Book club members in the audience mumbled and the members on the platform for the discussion were bemused.

Hamm softly recited in the readings from the platform: "Our Father, do not forgive us, for we know what we are doing."

He continued: "The silent Beckett has more to say than the hefty Deutschstunde of Lenz."

Eva Demski, who had just appeared from speaking about reading, could have meant him when she spoke about the appearance of a "crisis in reading."

Uwe Wittstock obviously had a clear reply to the question: "What does liturature have to celebrate?" The reply: "The largest production of books there has ever been."

He was able to grow up and fulfil the dream of his childhood to the horror of all his career advisers. He had said: "I want to be a literary manager in the Coburg theatre."

He knew exactly what he wanted to do. He said: "I wanted to complete every remaining fragment from Christian Dietrich Grabbe to Franz Grillparzer."

Writer Tankred Dorst gave interviews as well as readings; and he took part in discussions.

The Federal Republic of Germany was founded in 1949. Dorst, who is 64, has spent 30 of the intervening 40 years involved in the nation's theatre. His first play was produced when the Federal Republic celebrated its 10th anniversary — at a marionette theatre.

He has 50 titles to his credit, such as the "German plays," produced for Dorothea Merz, and free adaptations such as the Hans Fallada Revue, *Kleiner Mann, was nun?*

Dorst, who has dug deeply into the post-war history of this country, said: "There were no German writers when I began."

He has been too quickly, and in his view, falsely, regarded as an exploiter of the spirit of the times.

His *Toller* is part of the student unrest of 1968; *Große Schmährede an der Stadt Mauer* deals with Ulbricht's Berlin Wall; *Merlin* is regarded by many as an expression of the fantasy movement.

Dorst denies all this and said: "I would never programme a play to a particular target group."

He added: "It is impossible to calculate themes dealing with social trends, at the best you can only sense them."

Dorst takes advantage of stylistic variety as his trade mark. He works alongside such contasting playwrights as Peter Zadek and Peter Palitzsch, unusually close in the theatre world. But Zadek said: "We have always rubbed each other up the wrong way."

Dorst said: "You must always think of the theatre when writing." The Dorst rule applies to the monumental poetry of *Merlin* and to the comic melancholy of *Ich, Feuerbach*.

Here he admitted that as time went by he became more sceptical about conventional theatre in its entirety.

This year he has handed over to the Kammerspiele in Munich his latest play, *Karlos*, a free adaptation of the Schiller drama, *Don Carlos*.

He sees things differently for 1989. He said: "After the catastrophic decline of German television the theatre is an enclave of earnest thought. It has freedom for fantasy and is a place for communication. In our rubbishy society it is irreplaceable."

There was discussion about the record printing runs of West German crime novels, now called "political crime novels," surrounding Stefan Murr. Editions of his titles go into the millions.

This was given a lot of attention, but attracted only small audiences at Erlangen.

This discussion was given more time than the poet Wolfgang Bächler, the East German authoress Brigitte Burmeister (she read from an unfinished novel she does not intend to complete,) or the vertical take-off writer from Austria, Norbert Gstrein, 28, who was unabashed enough to come to the reading in short trousers.

There was no trace of the frequently mentioned "sateity" as the prevailing mood at the readings — only at the discussions which had put the expression in circulation.

Dieter Stoll

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 30 August 1989)

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actresses in Hamburg, and the Cultural Relation Fellowship, for exchange visits between young workers in the Federal Republic and the United States.

The foundation is also involved in the German-American Partnership Speech-Programme for lecture tours of prominent Germans in the USA.

But the Bergedorfer Gesprächskreis is the most well-known event with which the Körber Foundation's name is associated, established in 1961.

The centre of interest for this internationally renowned discussion group is to demonstrate "alternative ways for new initiatives for the development of free industrial societies," and "to translate into action new forms of cooperation in order to defuse existing conflicts between differing social systems."

Much that has in the mean time happened politically between the East and the West, and which has brought about transformations in eastern and western society, has been anticipated in the confidential rounds of discussions "in which the main thinkers of all systems from Moscow, Washington, Rome, Zürich or Bonn have met in Bergedorf."

Kurt Körber said: "The Bergedorfer Gesprächskreis is a chamber orchestra which organises concerts at home and abroad of interesting opinions. It is rather an expedition, which ventures into unchartered country, to explore difficulties and gain new insights and outlooks."

President Richard von Wiezsäcker has himself regularly attended the Bergedorf discussions. He described them in this way: "They are not only a forum for captivating insights and inspiring ideas, but also a request to the revolutionaries to talk to the reformers, and for the believers to examine positions with the disbelievers.

"The Knights' hall of Bergedorf Castle is in the best sense a training camp for all who are prepared to overstep the limits of their discipline, their parties or other interests, to get to know the variety of experience and perspective of others in the confrontation."

There is at the present another project which will make Körber and his entrepreurial philosophy immortal among vast sections of the population on its completion.

We were standing together on a building site between Hamburg's main station and the old "Speicherstadt," red-brick, late 19th century warehouses in the port. After many years of decay Kurt Körber has had the historic Deichtorhallen renovated for about DM26m and converted into a culture and exhibition centre.

Seventy years after his appearance with his mother at the Independent Socialist Party's meeting, on his 80th birthday, the effervescent elderly gentleman no less vain than many politicians or business colleagues, and a lot more effective in a social sense than many of them, will hand over the Deichtorhallen to the citizens of Hamburg as a gift.

In a gentle manner he intends to train the citizens of Hamburg to be "supporters of the Deichtorhallen," showing them how to be patrons.

During the restoration a gigantic vaulted cellar was discovered with over 170 supporting pillars. Herr Körber decided to cover these pillars with 70,000 tiles in the Hamburg city colours. Each of these titles will bear the signature and date of birth of a Hamburg citizen.

The right to immortalise oneself in this way can be purchased with a reasonable five marks and upwards. Every person who signs a tile will get a certificate.

The proceeds will be placed in an interest-bearing account. Every year the interest, amounting to thousands, will be raffled among the "Deichtorhallen supporters."

But the winner cannot pocket the cash. It must go to a charitable cause.

"The Deichetorhallen supporter of the year," Kurt Körber said, "will become a selfless patron and will have the chance of getting to know personally what it is like to be a benefactor, with giving better than taking. "He will get to know that it gives pleasure if one can be involved in civic solidarity for the benefit of the whole community."

Volker Skiarka

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 26 August 1989)

■ HEALTH

Helping sick children recover by making their dreams come true

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Ilse Dorandt set up *Wünsch Dir was e. V.*, (wish yourself something) a club that aims to help fulfil the wishes of sick children, especially cancer patients.

She got the idea earlier this year after seeing how similar ideas worked in America. She saw for herself how many parents are so worried that they lose the capacity to be able to see what their ill children would really like.

Gregor in his wheelchair looks very athletic in his sports shirt, shorts and baseball cap shading a freckled face and hiding the telltale signs of cancer treatment.

For minutes he seems to have forgotten everything and everyone around him. He has eyes for neither the other children playing in the corner nor the drip-feed blood transfusion stands.

He doesn't even see his mother, who is watching him with a shy and helpless smile.

He is all eyes for the parcel on his lap. He carefully unwraps the gift paper. There it is: a bright red camera. He is thrilled.

The nurses smile as they see the expression on his face. His doctor, Blanka Hessling, asks him a question in Polish.

He answers bright-eyed. At long last he can take photos of everything here and later show them to his father and his brother back home.

Here is Cologne University Children's Hospital. Home is Grodziska, a village 250km from Warsaw.

Gregor, 12, has spent five months at the haematology and oncology ward where tumour cases are treated.

His mother visits him daily, but she can't afford to fulfil his every wish. So *Wünsch Dir was* (Wish Yourself Something) stepped in to help.

Gregor, who is suffering from leukaemia, misses friends of his own age. He would like to have his Polish friend Marek with him, or someone else with whom he can chat; he speaks little or no German.

Now he has a camera and his first wish has been granted, he is confident his second wish will be fulfilled too.

What he would next like is to find a Polish boy of his own age in Cologne to visit him and "go fishing" with him one of these days.

Gregor is firmly convinced this second wish will come true. So are Ilse Dorandt from Bergisch Gladbach and Doris Mühseler from Cologne.

"The camera was an exception," say the two chairpersons of *Wünsch Dir was*. The club rule is never to fulfil material wishes.

But an exception was made in Gregor's case "because we haven't found him a friend yet."

The two visitors take their leave. Gregor waves with a smile. Ilse Dorandt looks at the clock: "Dear me, is it that late? We still have so much to do."

She has in mind Alexander, nine, who is so keen to meet a real live magician, Ahmet, who wants to meet the entire Turkish soccer squad, and Sandra, 16, who has to spend much of her time attached to an artificial kidney and would so like to fly — just once — in a hot-air balloon.

"We've been given the go-ahead by the balloonists," Frau Dorandt says. "250th on the waiting list, mind you, but we'll soon get that fixed."

If you really want to get something done you will succeed, she says. It sounds a little light-headed and euphoric, but she has first-hand knowledge.

Four and a half years ago she was in a serious traffic accident from which she emerged with, as she puts it, "not a bone unbroken."

She spent three years in a succession of hospitals, first bedridden, then wheelchair-bound. No-one believed for a moment that Frau Dorandt, who has a seven-year-old daughter, would ever walk unaided again.

But she herself was firmly convinced she would, and her determination helped her to achieve the seemingly impossible.

"I know what hospital means," she says. "Only the healthy have yet to learn how to cope with illness."

She decided to launch *Wünsch Dir was* in January after reading articles about Dream and Make A Wish.

In the United States, she learnt, there have been organisations that have made sick children's dreams come true for 10 years.

"So I then knew what I had to do," she says. She founded the club in March, with the statutory seven founding members.

Wünsch Dir was now has a dozen committed members who visit hospitals in the Cologne-Bonn area and grant the wishes of children selected after consultation with ward doctors.

Yussuf, eight, is a leukaemia patient. He was terribly homesick for his mother in Turkey.

The club raised funds, wrote letters, filed applications. "Her visa is now OK, her flight is booked and a hotel room has been booked near the hospital."

Yussuf's mother can now fly to Germany and spend three months with her sick son. It will all cost good money, of course, and *Wünsch Dir was* welcomes donations. Another wish is still in the pipeline. Bert, a "great little guy," confided in Frau Dorandt that his dearest wish was to go out on the town with actor Manfred Krug. Frau Dorandt telephoned one TV company after another for an address at which to contact the star of "Liebling Kreuzberg," a series in which Krug plays an off-beat Berlin lawyer. Two days after receiving her letter Krug wrote back to say he felt the club was doing a great job and he would be happy to paint the town red with Bert in January. Frau Dorandt was delighted but feels January is too far off. Bert needs something to cheer him up now. So she is still corresponding with the actor.

Trying to make a hospital ward less intolerable ... gilt- club co-chairperson Doris Mühseler is at left. (Photo: Koch)

She has even been known to accost an unknown motorist at a red light to beg a favour. "He won't ever have been approached by a strange woman like that before," she recalls with a grin.

She had just come out of a hospital and was wondering how to come by a "real jeep" for Matthias, eight, whose dearest wish was to go for a ride in one.

Suddenly, at a red light, she could hardly believe her eyes. There it was, a jeep, spray-painted gold, with speed lines, absolutely ideal!

She wound down her window and shouted to the driver: "Give me your phone number!" He did and was called by *Wünsch Dir was* to ask whether he would "lend" Matthias his jeep.

He willingly agreed to do so on learning what it was all about.

"It was ages before we found out what Matthias really wanted," she says. He first asked for a remote-controlled model jeep. "You must be nuts," she said. "I'm not Santa Claus. The others can buy you things."

It wasn't until her third visit that he told her what he really wanted: to feel like a racing driver, the sense of speed ~~and adventure~~.

Frau Dorandt says from experience that it is easy to see why parents fail to take wishes of this kind seriously. Many parents are floored by the appalling truth that their child is seriously ill and unlikely to recover.

Unwittingly they start to see and treat their sick child as an invalid rather than as an individual to be taken seriously. Children, she says, sense pity much more keenly than adults.

And pity, as she knows only too well, is the last thing the sick want.

Brigitte Widemann, a doctor at the Cologne clinic, agrees. "Children unfailingly notice suppressed sorrow," she says.

Yet parents need time in which to come to terms with the situation. Ward doctor Hauke Sieverts says parents frequently have greater difficulty with their anxiety than the child.

It is often the child who consoles its parents, he says. He feels *Wünsch Dir was* is a great idea because illness often tears a family apart.

"We are really grateful that it exists," he says — provided nothing is done without first consulting the sick child's parents and the doctor.

Another well-wisher is a lawyer whose daughter died a few years ago, aged seven, of leukaemia.

She had a soft spot for Franz Josef Strauss, the Bavarian Premier. She would so have liked to shake hands with Herr Strauss just once.

Her father didn't take her seriously. Now she is dead he feels he was wrong. He ought to have done something.

Yet Frau Dorandt wonders whether he has really learnt his lesson. When she met him, all he said was: "What a pity you weren't around then!"

Susanne Hengesbach

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 25 August 1989)

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a wide range of business and telecom purposes. In comparison with land-based systems its main advantage is that it can provide a country-wide service in next to no time.

With its 11 transponders the first Kopernikus satellite to go into operation will relay five TV programmes to ground transmitters and back up TV and data services between the Federal Republic and Berlin (West).

It will also make new digital telecom services possible, including digital radio, with 16 programmes in CD quality.

It is no exaggeration to say that digitalisation is the greatest radio innovation in decades. It will be a milestone in radio history.

Digital satellite-relayed radio will enable "steam radio" to draw level with the success story of CD quality records, tapes and decks.

The demand for digital radio channels is already so brisk that advance consideration must be given to relaying a further 16 channels via Kopernikus.

This example alone should suffice to show that there is no need to worry about Kopernikus having idle capacity. In competition with others it seems sure to fare well.

The Bundespost is now thinking in terms of a second-generation radio satellite system for use when TV Sat's life-span draws to a close in nine or ten years' time.

Kopernikus, incidentally, is designed for a similar life expectancy.

So it is by no means too early to be thinking in terms of a successor even if trend forecasts may tend to be even more short-lived.

Reality seems sure to surpass the most daring surmises. By the end of the century international satellite capacity could well exceed half a million telephone lines and a further 1,000 ground stations to relay information to and from any point on the globe.

Global talk — perfect technical links between people wherever they may be — is a challenge that must be seen as an opportunity not to be missed.

Franz Walter

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 25 August 1989)

■ CHANGES

Women march through barriers and into army and police

The services are among the last male bastions in Germany. Slowly, they are crumbling. The German Constitution prevents women from being used as combat troops, but they can be medical corps staff. Resistance to women in the police has been more traditional than legal — and tradition is slowly being overcome. Rita Hissmann reports for the Hamburg weekly,* Die Zeit, *on women in the Bundeswehr; while Sigrid Averesch writes in the* Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger *about women in the police.



Onwards to the showers. (Photo: amw)



Not only drunks like them better. (Photo: Sigrid Averesch)

Broken fingernails and all

Recruit Sabine raises both arms, her finger around the pistol. Slowly she applies pressure to the trigger. There is a bang. The recoil kicks her hands downwards. The smell of gunpowder rises in the air.

"I wasn't afraid at all," she says. "The idea is not to think too much about it. Just hold it up and squeeze. After all, we're only shooting at cardboard comrades."

Sabine Fitzner, 19, and 49 other young women were sworn in at the beginning of June as the first female recruits in the Bundeswehr. That means they now must maintain a certain standard of shooting accuracy. For some, it is a "tense challenge." The main thing is hitting the target as often as possible.

Thirty two women recruits who are doing their basic training with the army in Munich have gone, together with 150 male recruits, to take part in an exercise in the Traunstein area, in the foothills of south-east Bavaria. For a week, they will be put through their paces. Conscripts, intending career soldiers and women who are to become medical corps staff. All together.

For a long time there have been female medical staff in the Bundeswehr, but they have been officers — qualified doctors and dentists. Now a pilot project envisages giving women military training for 16 months followed by medical studies paid for by the state.

Applicants would then be bonded to spend between six and 10 years at a Bundeswehr hospital or as a battalion doctor. That works out at a total of 16 years in uniform.

After the shooting practice, the girls form up in rank and file. They adjust their jackets and push their steel helmets forward again. And then, they march off, their heavy boots hitting the ground in time, left, right. They can already march properly. What is not so surprising is that half the batch of 32 said that their fathers had been in the Bundeswehr either as career soldiers or as conscripts.

The second day of the exercise. Rain. Quickly out come the capes. The hoods are pulled over their heads. Their faces, smeared with dirt, gleam. More shooting and marching. Again at the cardboard comrades. At long last, at midnight, comes the order: "Back to camp!"

Two of them bring up the rear. Their helmuts have blinking warning lights which throw ghostly shadows. Everybody is breathing heavily, both men and women. The pace becomes quicker. The sleeping bags are becoming more attractive with every stride. One recruit (male) curses the wetness. A voice (feminine) retorts: "Don't be so wet!"

The women allow no one to notice the strain they are under. But they are quick to react to male jibes: "No one's making it easy for us." What about the temporary showers at the camp? "They are for the men as well as for us."

In any case, up until now, few have taken advantage of this luxury. Who can make it to the shower in the middle of the night when you are dog tired, exhausted to the point of collapse? The girls, their uniforms damp and dirty, just crawl with relief into their sleeping bags.

Another day. The girls' faces have become a uniform black-brown and the difference between the men and the women is no longer clear — except that there are ocasional hints of feminine high spirits. It is the girls who strike up with the Bundeswehr Blues and who set the beat.

They change some of the words to make a point about their femininity. They have no intention of becoming hard-boiled women. The main reasons for their joining up were the challenge of making their way on merit in a man's world and the chance of obtaining a safe job.

Equal rights however, do not apply: the Constitution forbids a general conscription of women. These recruits are volunteers and, although they are being trained in the use of weapons, they cannot be used as armed soldiers because this is forbidden under the constitution. They are given weapons training so they are able to defend themselves in their work as medical staff.

Other countries have varying policies on the deployment of women in the

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Facing Molotov cocktails

Brokdorf on the banks of the Elbe in Schleswig-Holstein: autumn 1986. Demonstrators against the nuclear power plant clash with police.

Among the reinforcements sent by the North Rhine-Westphalia force to back up the Schleswig-Holstein force was Ulrike Kortendiek.

The 25-year-old recalls: "I heard colleagues crying for help. One had his leg slashed open. Molotov cocktails were raining into us through our shields." It was one of her worst experiences since she entered the force.

Frau Kortendiek, who joined up in 1983, is one of 737 women in the North Rhine-Westphalia uniformed branch.

Hamburg was the first *Land* to recruit women, in 1979 in a pilot project. North Rhine-Westphalia followed suit in 1982.

Other *Länder* have since adopted the practice except Bavaria, which still has an all-male force.

North Rhine-Westphalia was the first *Land* to abolish the quota system for women; as a result the proportion of women has continuously increased.

In 1982 the 74 women in the force made up 4.3 per cent of the total. By 1984 the proportion had increased to 20 per cent; and this year, with 115 new places, policewomen make up 30 per cent.

For two years, Policewoman Ulrike Kortendiek has been on patrol in Cologne's city centre. She has stood between brawlers, tried to pacify rowing married couples and attends road accidents as a matter of course. She says: "My colleagues have learned to accept me."

But that was not always the case. At the beginning she often heard male police officers complain about what they would do with a woman when they had to go to a brawl. She heard one complain: "I'd have to protect her."

There were other objections: "How can a police officer's wife sleep soundly at night knowing he is on patrol with a policewoman? If you give people the chance, anything can happen."

She was the first woman in uniform in the whole *Land* and was aware that many of her male colleagues had reservations about her being on patrol.

Frau Kortendiek recalls: "They were sceptical and took the view that they had to give us special treatment."

The people in Cologne as well had to get used to the idea of policewomen. Many showed surprise when, after approaching a policeman, they found themselves face to face with a woman.

Sometimes, male drivers began to stutter when confronted with a woman motorcycle officer.

They get critical glances even today when they roar off on their motorcycles, but most take it in their stride.

But other things have been more difficult. When it became known in Cologne that good-looking young women were riding police motorcycles, men began getting cheeky and chatting them up.

There have been telephone calls offering such things as "a ride together." Other calls have been more explicitly obscene.

Most of the women do not regret their decision to get into a profession, until recently reserved for "tough men," even though these experiences have left a deep impression on them.

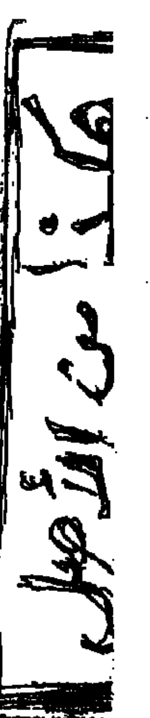
They are not given any preferential treatment, even by their superiors. This has stood them in good stead with their male colleagues.

One woman said: "We are not something exotic in the force and we are not fair weather police officers. We want to be judged by our performance and not be given favours due to our sex."

The experts take the unanimous view that in the everyday round of police duties the women have proved their value.

Even the idea that women were not suited for strenuous shift work has proved to be wrong. Harry Sommerfeld, deputy chairman of the West German Police Federation, the police trades union, said: "The women have been just as good and just as bad as the men in shift duties." They have also not been

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■ FRONTIERS

Ecological bliss beneath the low-flying jets



Yvette Schneevogt, from Berlin, realised "at some stage or other" that she simply wasn't cut out for the city life.

She and her husband and two children are pioneers in an "ecotopia" pilot project near Marburg.

Hailed as the first project of its kind, with the emphasis on ecological housing and living, seven years ago, it still consists of a mere four houses.

The estate is planned one day to house 18 happy, healthy families.

The project is located on the eastern outskirts of Friebertshausen, population 130, near Gladenbach, in Marburg-Biedenkopf rural district, Hesse.

It nestles in the shade and shelter of hedges and rows of oaks and poplars, plus water-loving plants such as iris and fir, meadows lined with fruit trees, and a few ponds.

On a 5.5-hectare (14-acre) site the residents aim to be models of ecological living, with sheep safely grazing and organic fruit and vegetables to harvest.

The sites on which the houses are built have been checked by water-diviners and "geo-biologists" to make sure there are no water veins or tectonic features that might make people sleep uneasily.

Frau Schneevogt, an architect, felt the design submitted by an Aachen human ecology working party, a design that won a 1982 award, was the most convincing of the many housing projects for which ecological claims are made.

Another family decided to join the venture because they suffered from eczema and asthma. A common feature of all "estate families" is their concern for nature, environment and health.

The locals soon noticed, Frau Schneevogt says, "that we aren't oddballs and dropouts" — "and by no all of us are anthroposophists either," she adds.

The model estate is not intended for mad hatters hell bent on building zany homes of their own design. The Aachen architects' concept is based on detailed parameters.

Groups of three detached houses, built in the local style, are arranged round a shared inner courtyard.

The design is intended both to catch the eye and with a view to symbolising community spirit.

All building materials must be environment-friendly: bricks, clay, cork and cellulose as insulating materials, sheep's wool and jute for the joints, non-toxic waxes and oils.

And neighbours are expected to help each other to build their homes, relying as far as possible on their own labour. This mutual aid worked like a charm, the Schneevogts say.

The plain outer shell of the eco-house is based on timber built on brick foundations, with outer walls faced in wood.

Materials and design are fairly standard, but the owner has a free hand in interior decoration and the conservatory design.

The Schneevogts live at one "with nature and natural light conditions" in their new home. In the morning warm sunlight floods the kitchen and the children's rooms; in the evening the setting sun shines into the bedrooms.

The interior decoration is all in oiled wood, with granulated cork insulation for the ceiling joists.

The walls are painted in a do-it-yourself mixture of *Quark* (soft cheese), slaked lime and water.

Rainwater is collected in a 5,000-litre tank that feeds the toilets and the washing machine.

Sewage water flows into a pond lined with reeds, rushes and iris which is so large that it has so far been unable to sustain all its plants, according to Aachen architect Uwe Kortlepel.

It will be a while before the estate has a shredder and compost heaps generating biogas as an alternative to the natural gas that is now piped in.

Is ecological housing a luxury? Not necessarily, say the Friebertshausen pioneers, if you bear in mind the lifespan of the materials used or the twin water systems (requiring a certain amount of duplication in plumbing).

Hessische Heimstätte, the builders, say an eco-house and garden cost about DM380,000, all-in.

They took over from Hessische Landgesellschaft, who owned the land, at the end of 1985 when the Hesse Interior Ministry declared the site unsuitable for the settlement.

Hessische Heimstätte were thus not to blame for the blanket of silence which descended on a project that in 1984 had been included in a Federal catalogue of experimental housing and urban architecture as an "important contribution toward environment-friendly rural planning and settlement."

The project had even prompted the Environmental Protection Agency, Berlin, to classify the planning procedure as a pilot scheme.

"We didn't want to go to all that trouble," says Helmut Feussner, the Heimstätte's technical director, in Kassel.

But protracted negotiations delayed the planning procedure and discouraged many potential buyers.

"At the end of 1985 we had to draw up entirely new building regulations," he says.

The pioneers were frustrated by the terms of the planning permission granted. They were so detailed that they even specified who was to supply the building materials and totally disregarded the homeowners' specific requirements.

Fire regulations were updated, with the result that fresh applications were required. 1986 had been and gone before the planning permission was reduced to essentials.

The first house was not finished, and ready for its owners to move in, until spring 1988.

A handful of would-be newcomers are now negotiating terms with the builders. Some qualify for generous *Land* and Federal government subsidies.

They mustn't earn too much. They are not allowed to spend more than one third of their income on mortgage interest and capital repayments. The Heimstätte advises them and makes sure that no-one overextends himself financially.

Hesse provides DM100,000 loans at low interest rates, the Federal government tops this up with a further DM50,000.

The next batch of ecotopia homeowners could start building next year.

By then further amendments should have been made to the planning permission. The "trio" of (terraced) houses is to be separated and arranged in a loose rectangle.

Herr Feussner is convinced the new design will be extremely popular. "In rural areas," architect Kortlepel readily admits, "no-one is keen on buying a terraced house."

The "trio" was a good idea, well meant, but he can understand why would-be buyers were less enthusiastic about the design.

Frau Schneevogt says there are weekends when "eco-tourists" — potential buyers or merely inquisitive — descend on the Friebertshausen eco-estate.

The dream of being at one with nature is not easy to fulfil, she says. "Young people can't afford it, while older people are afraid of starting from scratch and the effort it involves."

Besides, Friebertshausen is way out in the countryside where public transport facilities — and jobs — are few and far between.

Yet the village is only a stone's throw from a Nato ammunition depot in nearby Donnerberg, so even the countryside has its ecological drawbacks.

"There is nowhere you can really be at peace with the world any more," says Frau Schneevogt as low-flying jets roar overhead twice in as many hours.

Jörg Feuck

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 28 August 1989)

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to which the emancipatory element is pretty alien.

The party's former business manager, Heiner Geissler, realised this discrepancy.

In the final analysis, the carefully fostered growth fetishism cannot prevent the gradual "marginalisation" of almost a third of society.

Conservative, social, liberal, modern and national — even under the broad umbrella of a people's party there is not enough room for everybody.

Is the FDP better off in this respect? Not at all, since its most valuable asset, liberalism, is no longer exclusive property.

In its efforts to ward off government intervention in the liberties of individuals the Free Democrats find themselves in a war of attrition with the SPD and Greens.

The latter find it a lot easier to formulate their demand more uninhibitedly and radically than the FDP when questioning the rights of the government vis-à-vis individuals.

In other words, the central element of the FDP's party-political right to exist is disintegrating and cannot be offset by economic liberalism.

For even in the field of loyalty to the market economy the Social Democrats claim they are a match for all over parties. Oskar Lafontaine deserves the credit.

It is fair to claim that the classical ideologies of the traditional parties are crumbling.

This probably explains why they are all "turning green" — some more than others.

Consequently, the Greens, once a pedigree party of protest, no longer has a right of primogeniture. The wheel thus turns full circle.

Helmut Bauer

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 28 August 1989)

Women soldiers

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armed services. In Greece, Denmark, Canada and the countries of the Warsaw Pact, women are not required to do military service. In the American regular army, women who want to become career soldiers must do a basic course in which the physical aspect is not as rigorous as for the men.

In Israel and China, women are conscripted, just like the men. In Israel women mainly do office work and serve as medical orderlies.

Because of China's huge population women are only recruited in cases where they are needed; and then they are not posted to combat units. In Italy women do not form part of the military services at all.

Critics say it is clear why the Bundeswehr has left the door ajar for women. It is, they say, just the beginning. The Bundeswehr needs a recruiting potential of 350,000 men as a pool to draw the required 232,000 a year from. By 1994, it is thought that this pool will sink to 260,000 a year. To make up the numbers, women must be recruited.

A senior army doctor rejects this. He says interest in the medical corps is extremely high and there is no shortage of applicants. Equality of rights is the term which crops up here again, but the army makes it clear that it does not want to confuse that with egalitarianism. The standard haircut is not for women. A company commander: "Women should remain women."

Equal rights, equal duties — with the entry of the female recruits, the Bundeswehr has remembered something that it perhaps should have acquired long ago. Since 1 June, the Münchener Sanitätsakademie, where the recruits are trained, has had an automatic washing machine. Now the men as well can wash their own clothes.

The sky over Traunstein is black. Huge towers of cloud have built up. On the ground, a chemical-warfare exercise is taking place. Women and men stand in three rows, pull gas masks over their heads. The girls fasten their hair behind their heads. The first enter a tent filled with CS (tear) gas. Seconds later, one emerges, running, arm over the head. He takes the mask off. The eyes burn, the skin itches. He complains he has trouble breathing. Now two women emerge from the tent. They comment: "Wasn't too bad." All the girls come through the test unscathed. Three men were ill. Does this mean that, in the end, women are better soldiers?

On to the next task. They learn how to recover the badly wounded from field and forest. Again and again they repeat the process. There is no time for a breather.

The terms used to urge them on are inappropriate: "Go to the man!" is the exhortation. That doesn't bother the women at all. They don't see any advantage in the training sergeant crying "Go to the woman!"

On the contrary, they have refused to change. Agnes Hürland, a Christian Democrat Bundestag MP even says: "If women enter a man's career, then they should be prepared to use male terms."

Time for the evening meal. The girls queue up, deadbeat. Their uniforms are drenched, their fingernails broken and their hair clings to their heads in clammy strands. It has been a successful day. Energy and ambition have not been dented. After all, they are volunteers — and they want to stay for 16 years.

Rita Hissmann

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 18 August 1989)

■ HORIZONS

World sports event helps Ruhr recovery plan

The 15th World Student Games are being held in the Ruhr centre of Duisburg. The games, also known as Universiade, are held every two years and are highly rated because of the talent that can emerge. The 1,500 metres world record holder, Said Aouita, from Morocco, burst to prominence when he won the 1,500 metres at the 1981 Games in Budapest. This year, the event was to have been held in Sao Paulo, in Brazil, but it ran into insuperable difficulties and had to pull out at short notice. It was decided to go for Duisburg, which has excellent facilities; it has staged the world rowing championships. The late change — just five months were available — means that only athletics, basketball, fencing and rowing are being held compared with 13 disciplines at Zagreb in 1987. Even so, about 93 countries are represented by about 3,000 athletes and officials. This Universiade is important for the city of Duisburg because it is a contender for the Olympic Games in 2004. In this story for the *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, Jürgen Zurheide describes how these two sporting events fit into a much wider context — that of rejuvenating the Ruhr, the industrial area which is pulling itself out of a period of decline.

The Ruhr looks for a record run.

(Photo: dpa)

For years, the mayors of cities in the Ruhr have dreamed of the Olympic Games. This Universiade is therefore regarded as a dress rehearsal on the international stage.

"Heats for the Olympics," ran the headline in a regional newspaper. Otherwise, everything uttered by the all-powerful president of the International Olympic Committee, Juan Antonio Samaranch, is carefully weighed.

He said in relation to the Universiade: "I am enthusiastic and must pay Duisburg a big compliment." Hopes rose even higher when he hinted that consideration within the IOC was being given to widening the rules and allowing not just cities but entire regions to apply *to hold* the Olympics. Many can already see the Olympic rings fluttering over the Ruhr.

But, on the other side, Samaranch *said*: "I must be careful because several cities want to apply for the Olympics." The question is over the Games in 2004. The competition is enormous. In Germany itself, Stuttgart, Frankfurt, Hamburg and Berlin have also expressed interest. Berlin would have a good chance if the East and West parts were to make a joint application.

These details are the stuff of talk in Duiburg these days. Now as an appetiser, it has these student games. It doesn't bother Duisburgers too much that the resonance to this Universiade from other areas is minimal. They are enjoying their new role and are being given strong support daily in the local Press.

All papers in the area are producing Universiade specials. And clippings from the overseas Press are being received with thanks — the event is causing greater interest in other countries than in other parts of Germany outside Duisburg. This has a lot to do with the fact that student sport is much more important in some other countries, especially the United States.

Anyone happening to come to Duisburg these days is likely to discover that the city is much friendlier than it used to be; people appear to be happy that there are so many visitors.

Before Universiade began, there were isolated voices complaining about the costs involved and saying that there were better ways to use the money. But now the tone is overwhelmingly positive.

The Duisburgers had a mere 150 days to prepare. They jumped in to replace Sao Paulo, which had to pull out at short notice. Samaranch then asked Berthold Beitz, his IOC colleague, if there wasn't somewhere in the Ruhr with facilities already intact which could take the event.

Beitz, who also happens to be the honorary chairman of the Krupp supervisory board, didn't need to be asked a second time.

The Ruhr mayors were all in favour and they let Duisburg take precedence. The *Land* of North Rhine-Westphalia threw itself behind the project. Only central government in Bonn was not forthcoming at first, but a word from the Chancellor, Helmut Kohl, secured a three-million-mark subsidy. The total cost of Universiade is 12 million marks.

Business stepped in with 1.5 million. Companies identifying with the Ruhr in the same way that industry once had in Berlin in another age, some time ago formed themselves into an Initiativkreis Ruhrgebiet in an effort to halt the decline of this coal-and-steel region. Its members read like a Who's Who of German commerce: Bayer, Babcock, Daimler-Benz, Haniel, Krupp, Mannesmann, Thyssen, Volkswagen, RWE and many others.

There are 47 members and is expected to reach 60 by the end of the year.

The Initiativkreis has a powerful friend in Alfred Herrhausen, the head of Deutsche Bank, who says: "We believe in the Ruhr and want other to come and share our belief."

The idea of founding the group came from Adolf Schmidt, former chief of the miners' union as the area entered a deep crisis in the mid-1980s. When he enlisted the support of Herrhausen, who was born in the Ruhr city of Essen, the idea made rapid progress — and even more when it received a boost from an unexpected quarter. Cardinal Franz Hengsbach, Bishop of the Ruhr, came in and coordinated the group's activities until June last year when a programme was submitted and the first million had been collected.

Herrhausen and Rudolf von Bennigsen-Foerder, boss of Veba, were voted moderators and placed at the head of the group. Now it has got together a good 10 million marks and has involved itself in many activities of which the Universiade is only one. The slogan is "We in the Ruhr — Forward Together."

Money from commercial undertakings is to be used to promote top-rank culture. In September there is a series of piano concerts; in October, the Finnish national opera is to make a guest appearance in the new Essen opera house.

Initiativkreis does not only intend rattling the publicity drums, however. It also wants heavy investment to be made, although so far the practice has not lived up to the promise.

But Josef Krings, Duisburg's mayor, pronounces himself satisfied: "In the past one-and-a-half years, the entire mood here has changed." All it needs to show this to the whole world is the Olympic Games. Roll on 2004.

Jürgen Zurheide

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more frequently off sick than their male colleagues.

Policewomen have been an advantage in dealing with social situations. They have created a new tone in the state's dealings with citizens.

Herbert Schnoor, North Rhine-Westphalia Interior Minister, said: "They are more polite and more friendly." He added that instead of using muscle, policewomen use talking things through as their main weapon, thus helping to improve the image of the police among the public at large, as Herr Schnoor had hoped they would.

Speaking of the first impressions gained from recruiting women for the police force Heinz Reiner, spokesman for the police in Düsseldorf, said: "They react with greater sensitivity than their male colleagues and so defuse conflict situations."

Horst Olszewski, head of about 5,000 riot police, which includes women, goes a step further in his assessment of policewomen.

He said: "Women are much better at coming to grips with a situation than men." Furthermore they do not suffer from stress so quickly.

Günter Häring, head of the Cologne uniformed police, made another observation. He said: "Drunks are not so rough, less aggressive, when they have to deal with a policewoman."

He added that women were much more industrious during training as well. In examinations 59.2 per cent of the women were given very good or good grades, but with the men it was only 45.9 per cent.

This is important because trainees who get the best grades get the best jobs in the force.

Summarising his experiences resulting from many years as head of police training, Horst Olszweski believes that women will get somewhere in the force, but there is a long way to go.

At present 2.2 per cent of the uniformed police force of 33,000 is made up of women. Even in large cities they are not that much in evidence.

There are at present 51 policewomen in service in Cologne, more than anywhere else in North Rhine-Westphalia.

In Bonn there are 39 women among the 1,700 in the uniformed branch. Only five of them are posted to police stations.

The others are in special protection duties. In Düsseldorf only three of the six police stations in the city include women.

Häring believes that the uniformed police will face "new tests" in the coming years. This year, for instance, policewomen have begun their training for executive levels in the force.

At the beginning of the 1990s they will take over command positions in police stations. That could lead to fresh conflicts about the rôle of women in the force.

If during the 1990s the proportion of women in the police force continues to increase this will have its effect on the hole structure of the police.

More and more consideration will have to be given in planning police duties for pregnancy leave and part-time work. This is already creating displeasure within police ranks.

To avoid competition battles the trades unions are demanding the creation of more new posts in the police, but in view of the shortage of cash and the decline in applicants this is being utopian.

Häring said: "We must re-think the structure of the uniformed police. In doing this consideration must be given as to whether the duties of the uniformed police should not be tightened up or changed."

This is all wishful thinking. The police force has adapted itself to women. The men in the police have had to discuss new arrangements, for instance pregnancy leave, and they have reacted in various ways.

In the June issue of the police magazine the German Police Federation came out against putting an officer who had for years been in patrol cars in a desk job, which he would then have to give up after a few weeks to make way for a pregnant policewoman.

The first policewomen have already been given leave from their duties to look after their children.

Sigrid Averesch

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